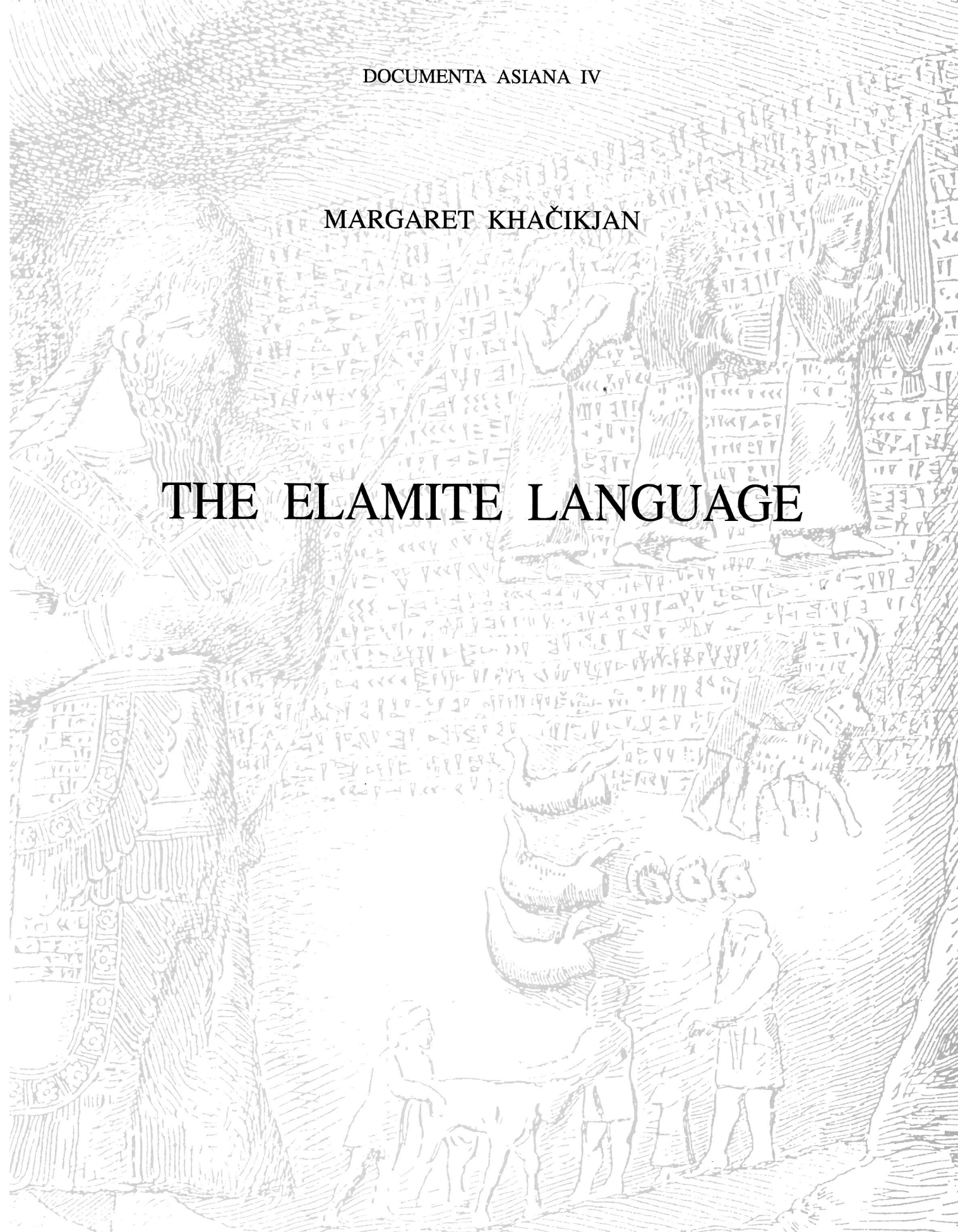
DOCUMENTA ASIANA IV

MARGARET KHAČIKJAN

THE ELAMITE LANGUAGE



CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE
ISTITUTO PER GLI STUDI MICENEI ED EGEO-ANATOLICI
ROMA 1998

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY PARENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It's a pleasure to acknowledge here my indebtedness to my teacher, Professor Igor M. Diakonoff, to whom I owe my basic training in ancient oriental philology.

I owe a special debt to my friends Vram Jihanian and Sergei and Armen Solakhian who helped me greatly in preparing the manuscript for publication.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to my family for their assistence and patience.

Last but not least, my heartfelt thanks to Professor Mirjo Salvini who agree to publish this book in the series Documenta Asiana, and to Doctor Neda Parmegiani who read and edited the manuscript for publication.

PREFAZIONE

La pubblicazione di questa agile grammatica della lingua elamica, di cui è autrice Margaret Khačikjan di Erevan, è il segno concreto di una antica, anche se saltuaria collaborazione del nostro Istituto con l'Accademia Armena delle Scienze, e in particolare con l'Istituto di studi orientali, diretto dal Prof. Gagik Ch. Sarkisjan. Essa data dall'ormai lontano 1968, quando ebbero inizio le nostre ricerche urartologiche sul campo (cf. SMEA IX, 1969, 7-24; XIV, 1971, 39-70).

Alcuni anni orsono è apparsa la grammatica elamita di Françoise Grillot-Susini, *Eléments de grammaire élamite*, Paris 1987. E' sembrato dunque opportuno accogliere il testo di Margaret Khačikjan nella serie dei "Documenta Asiana", per rendere accessibile ai cultori occidentali di lingue "asiane" l'interpretazione alternativa della scuola linguistica russa sulla struttura dell'elamico di tradizione cuneiforme.

Vorrei inoltre ricordare le obbiettive difficoltà in cui versano gli studiosi armeni e in genere i ricercatori dei paesi dell'ex Unione Sovietica, non ultimo il limitato accesso alla letteratura specializzata. I risultati delle ricerche ne sono tanto più meritori.

Una delle linee di ricerca di questo Istituto, in collaborazione con il *Département des Antiquités Orientales* del Musée du Louvre, verte sulla documentazione in elamico lineare, che presenta peraltro problematiche più propriamente filologiche che linguistiche, dato lo stadio ancora acerbo della decifrazione di quel materiale testuale. Anche nella prospettiva di riprendere il lavorìo di interpretazione delle epigrafi di Puzur-lnšušinak con i parametri della lingua elamica, questa grammatica costituisce una solida base di riferimento.

L'approfondito studio di M. Khačikjan, con il suo modo sintetico di ordinare la materia, offre in appendice anche una ben fondata, originale proposta di definizione tipologica della lingua elamica. Riteniamo che questo aspetto della ricerca - in un'opera che si rivolge in primo luogo ai cultori delle lingue del Vicino Oriente antico - possa suscitare anche l'interesse del vasto mondo della linguistica generale.

Roma, 31 gennajo 1998 Mirjo Salvini

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INTRODUCTION

The Elamite language was current in the South and South-West of Iran - Khuzistān and Fārs - from the 3rd mill. B.C. (or, perhaps, earlier) till the 2nd half of the 1st mill. B.C. (the latest written texts in that language date from the 4th cent. B.C.). According to the Arabian traveller of the 10th cent. Istakhrī, the inhabitants of Khuzistān spoke Persian, Arabic and Khuzī. The latter was probably an Iranian dialect, though it might have been a dialect originating from Elamite.

1. *SOURCES*

1.1. The main source for the study of the Elamite language are the texts in that language, employing different writing systems. These are:

a) pictographic, typologically close to the early Sumerian script, undeciphered;
b) hieroglyphic syllabic with a number of logograms, dating back to the end of the 3rd mill. B.C. An attempt to interpret this script was made by Hinz and Meriggi[1];
c) cuneiform in its two varieties: Akkadian (3rd-2nd mill. B.C.) and considerably simplified Elamite (1st mill. B.C.).

1.2. Another source for the study of Elamite are the words, mostly names of professions and functionaries, attested in Akkadian and Old Persian texts, as well as glosses.

1.3.1. The earliest Elamite text dates from the 23th cent. B.C.[2]. It is the first treaty ever known concluded between the king of Akkad Nāramsîn and the Elamite ruler Hita. This rather extensive text is poorly preserved and very obscure, except the initial part, in which the Elamite deities are appealed to, the final malediction formula and the often repeated phrase "Nāramsîn's friend is my friend, Nāramsîn's enemy is my enemy", proving that we deal with a treaty. There are two more texts from the 3rd mill.[3] .

Next chronologically come two small fragments written for the Elamite king Simebalarhuhpak, the contemporary of the Babylonian king Hammurabi[4]. However, as the script and the language of these texts are similar to those of a later period, their authenticity seems unlikely.

1 W. Hinz, *IrAnt* 2, 1962, 1-21; P. Meriggi, *BiOr* 26, 1969, 176-177, *idem*, *La scrittura proto-elamica*, Parte I, Roma 1971, Parte II, III, Roma 1974; B. André et M. Salvini, *IrAnt* XXIV, 1989, 53-72 (Pl. I-VI).

2 F.W. König, *EKI* 2; W. Hinz, *ZA* 58, 1967, 91-93.

3 M. Lambert, *RA* 68, 1974, 3-14.

4 König, *EKI* 3 A-B.

A few magic texts (incantations) from this period are also known[5].
The language of the texts mentioned above is known as Old Elamite (OE).

1.3.2. Later Elamite texts on clay bricks, stone and metallic objects are attested from the 13th till the 12th cent. B.C., a period conventionally called Middle Elamite (ME)[6]. These are numerous inscriptions concerning the construction of temples and other cult buildings, the making of cult objects and their consecration to deities. Most of these inscriptions are stereotyped, whereas those diverging from the stereotype are mostly incomprehensible. The only Elamite-Akkadian bilingual text attested from this period is rather small and not very informative.

1.3.3. Another large gap of about 400 years separates the ME texts from those usually known either as Late Middle Elamite, or Neo-Elamite (NE)[7].
Among the NE texts, dating from the end of the 8th cent. are inscriptions, several hundred economic texts from Susa, over twenty letters from Ninive and an omen-text. The NE texts reveal a number of changes as compared with the ME period.

1.3.4. The next period in the history of the Elamite language is the Achaemenid (AE) period (from the end of the 6th to the end of the 5th centuries B.C.). Numerous trilingual (Old Persian-Akkadian-Elamite) inscriptions[8] and thousands of economic texts from Persepolis, as well as three administrative texts from Argištihenele[9] are attested from this period. Rather similar to each other and considerably influenced by Old Persian (OP), they are not very rich in linguistic information.

2. *HISTORY OF ELAMITE STUDIES*

Numerous as they are, the texts in Elamite are often obscure and not very informative from the perspective of a linguist and it is no wonder that Elamite is not studied well enough. Its morphology and syntax, not to mention the phonetics, are only known in general outline, and most of the attested vocabulary has not been interpreted.

2.1. The study of the Elamite language started in the last century with the deciphering of the Bisutun inscription. The scholars called it "Median", "Scythian", "Susian", "the Achaemenid

5 J. van Dijk, Fremdsprachliche Beschwörungstexte in der südmesopotamischen Überlieferung, *Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient*, Band I, Berlin, 1982 (Elamite incantations on pp.100-102).

6 König, *EKI*, 4-65; for newer publications of ME texts cf. W. Hinz, H. Koch, *EW*, Bibliographie.

7 König, *EKI*, 71-89; V. Scheil, *MDP* 9, 1907, 1-298; *MDP* 11, 1911, 299-309; the new edition of the Susa tablets: Y.Yusifov, *VDI* 84, 1963/2, 191-222; 85, 1963/3, 200-261; V. Scheil, *RA* 14, 1917, 29-59, for details cf. *EW*, Bibliographie.

8 F.W. Weißbach, *KA*; for a new edition of the Behistun inscription of Darius see F. Grillot-Susini, C. Herrenschmidt, F. Malbran-Labat, *JA* 281, 1993, 19-59; G.G. Cameron, *PTT*; R.T. Hallock, *PFT*; for other publications cf. *EW*, Bibliographie.

9 The publishers of these texts, I.M. Diakonoff and N.B. Yankowska, interpreted them as the Elamite version of the Gilgameš-epic dating from the NE period (cf. *ZA* 80, 1990, 120-123). However, H. Koch's opinion, according to whom we deal with administrative texts of the AE period (cf. *ZA* 83, 1993, 219-236) seems more convincing.

language of the second range" and, finally, Elamite, as this language and its bearers were called in Akkadian. The OP appellation of the language was *Huǰi̯ā*. In Elamite the country and its people were called *Haltamti*. Among the scholars interested in Elamite studies were Weißbach, Bork, Hüsing and, later, von Brandenstein, Friedrich, Hinz and Labat.

2.2. Elamite studies have intensified since the late forties. A valuable contribution to the study of the Elamite language was made by Hallock, Cameron, Hinz, Paper, König, Labat, Diakonoff, Reiner, Lambert, Vallat, Grillot and others. Essays on Elamite grammar were written by Labat, Diakonoff, Reiner and Grillot-Susini[10].
A description of the language of the royal Achaemenid inscriptions was given by Paper[11]. Hallock's articles concerning the Elamite verb are to be mentioned[12]. Of great value is the Elamite dictionary by Hinz and Koch[13]. This voluminous work contains all the Elamite words and proper names attested in Elamite, Akkadian and Old Persian texts, with all the interpretations existing by the present, as well as the most complete bibliography of Elamite studies.

2.3. There have been different opinions concerning the origin of Elamite (Caucasian, Dravidian, Altaic); Diakonoff's and, later, McAlpin's investigations confirmed the hypothesis of the Dravidian origin of Elamite[14].

2.4. Elamite belonged to the agglutinative morphological type.

2.5. From the viewpoint of the contensive typology it was an early nominative language with some relics of the active and more significant features of the ergative type (cf. below, Appendix).

2.6. The available material provides little information about dialects in Elamite. The study of the material at our disposal reveals that the language of the Achaemenid period and ME originated from different dialects (cf. the 1p. possessive pronoun *-ta* in AE, unknown in ME, *intikka* in ME alongside the more archaic construction *in-tukki-me* in AE).

10 R. Labat, *Structure*; I.M. Diakonoff, *Elamskij*; E. Reiner, *EL*; F. Grillot-Susini avec la collaboration de Claude Roche, *EGE*.

11 H. H. Paper, *PMRAE*.

12 *JNES* 18, 1959, 1-19; The Verbal nouns in Achaemenid Elamite, Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday April 21, 1965, *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Assyriological Studies* 16, Chicago, 1965, 121-125.

13 W. Hinz und H. Koch, *EW*.

14 I.M. Diakonoff, *Elamskij*, 108-122; D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*.

CHAPTER I

PHONOLOGY

It is extremely difficult to reconstruct the phonological system of any dead language, especially if it is an isolated one and is expressed through a borrowed writing system, created for rendering an absolutely different language. This is the case with the Elamite language. For this reason, the system of phonemes presented below is very approximate.

1. *VOWELS*

1.1. The vowels reconstructed for Elamite are the following: *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* (or *ə*?) and, perhaps, *o* (?). The opposition by length was not known to Elamite.

1.2. The vowel *a* is revealed in the cuneiform signs containing this vowel. Its presence is also proved by the use of the same signs in the Akkadian and OP borrowings containing *a:* Akk. *Bābili* = El. *ba-bi-li*, OP *apadāna* = El. *ha-ba-da-na* etc.

1.3. *i* is revealed in the signs containing *i*. These signs sometimes alternated with the signs containing *e* : *-mi//-me*, *hupirri//hube, pili-//bela-*. From this fact Paper concluded the absence of *e* in Elamite[15].
i (as well as *e*) was contracted before *-a* : *-ni-a* >*-na*, *-me-a* >*-ma* etc. In AE the ME *i* was also reflected by the *u*-signs and vice versa: ME *in-tikka* = AE *in-tukki-me*, ME *turu-* = AE *tiri-*, ME *nika-* = AE *nuku-*, OE *ni* = ME *ni*, *nu* = AE *nu.* It is likely that this interchange could be explained by the articulatory peculiarities of the phonemes *u* and *i* in Elamite: *i* might have been labialized and *u* fronted.

1.4. *u* is revealed in the *u*-signs and *ú*. Although cases of their interchange are attested (*da-a-ʒa-u-iš/da-a-ʒa-ú-iš*), the use of two different signs in the Elamite writing system, with its simplifying tendency, raises the question of whether the sign ú reflected *u* or another phoneme.

1.5. *e.* As noted above, alongside the *i*-signs, signs containing *e* were used. Based on the fact of their interchange in the same stems and words, Paper postulated the absence of the phoneme *e* in Elamite. There are, however, cases proving the existence of a minimal contrast: *tetin* "adornment, carving" - *titen-ra* "liar"[16].

15 H.H. Paper, *PMRAE*, 16.

16 Paper traces these words back to the root meaning "to fashion", which seems doubtful.

The final *i* and *e* were probably neutralized which may be concluded from the alternation *-me//-mi*, the spelling *hube* alongside *hupibe*, *hupimer* etc.[17]

1.6. The presence of the phoneme *o* in Elamite is even more doubtful, although it cannot be completely ruled out. Maybe one of the two signs (*u*, *ú*) denoted this phoneme.

2. *CONSONANTS*

2.1. The opposition voiced : unvoiced was not peculiar to Elamite. It is evident from the fact that the signs denoting consonants of the same localization series irrespective of voice were used to express one and the same phoneme, as well as from the spelling of foreign words and proper names: *ip-še-man-ba* and *ti-ri-man-pi*, containing the plural marker *-p*, *hal-pi-iš* and *hal-be-in-da* (different forms of the verb "to kill"), Akk. *Bābili* = El. *ba-pi-li*, OP *Bagābigna* = El. *ba-ka-pi-ig-na*, OP *kapautaka* = El. *qa-ba-u-*[*da-ka*] "blue".
Some words were, however, written with signs containing only a voiced or a voiceless consonant: *pari-*, *kuši-*, but *duhi*, *bali* etc.
In the Elamite orthography double spelling of consonants was common. Based on the fact that single and geminated spelling of consonants often varied, Paper came to the conclusion that gemination had no phonetical significance[18].
However the fact that alongside words in which single and double spelling varied, there were others with only geminated or single spelling and that in the OP and Akkadian borrowings the voiceless consonants were denoted by double spelling, whereas the voiced consonants were spelled without gemination, led Reiner to the conclusion that graphical gemination did not result from redundant spelling, especially as the Elamite script tended to simplification. According to Reiner, geminated spelling reflected, probably, tense, strong, phonetically voiceless consonants in contrast to their weak, lax correlates without voice opposition, which were denoted by single spelling[19].
In the initial position the tense phonemes were probably denoted by voiceless consonants, cf. the pair with the minimal contrast *k* : *g* : *kiri* "goddess" : *giri* "vow?".

2.2. *OBSTRUENTS*

2.2.1. The labial stops were denoted by signs containing *b* or *p*. The pronunciation of these phonemes being not quite clear, they are designated conventionally as *p* (lax) and *p'* (tense).

2.2.2. The dental stops *t* and *t'* were denoted by the *d*- and *t*-signs.

2.2.3. The velar stops *k* and *k'* were designated by the *g*-, *k*- and *q*-signs.

17 A similar phenomenon was peculiar to Hurrian and Urartian where the reduced final vowel was denoted by signs containing *i* and *e*.

18 H.H. Paper, *PMRAE*, 7.

19 E. Reiner, *EL*, 111. It should be noted, however, that the tendency to simplify the Sumero-Akkadian syllabary in Elamite, as well as other cuneiform languages, was mainly manifested in eliminating the polyphony of the signs. But the use of signs redundant from the phonological standpoint was not alien to Elamite, cf. the broad use of the *h*-signs in NE and AE. This by no means is counter to Reiner's conclusion, though.

In NE the locutive classifier *-k* was often spelled *h*: *u Attahamiti-Insusnak šak Hutrantepti-ha//qa.* It is not clear whether this spelling reflected the spirantisation of this stop in certain positions.
On the other hand, the OP *x* was rendered by the *k*-signs, cf. *harakka* = OP *Arxa*, *Hakkamaniš* = OP *Haxamāniš* etc.

2.3. *SPIRANTS*

2.3.1. Elamite had a velar fricative phoneme *h* rendered by the signs denoting the Akkadian phoneme *h*. It differed from the Semitic velar fricative *x* and was probably a weak guttural consonant. By the end of the ME period this phoneme had disappeared. In NE and AE the *h*-signs alternated with the signs reflecting vowels, both in Elamite words and in borrowings: *hu-ud-da //ú-ud-da* "I did", 1 p. sg. personal pronoun *ú//hu*, *i-da-ka//hi-da-ka* "with", *ha-ba-da-na* (< OP *apadana*) "pillared hall".

2.3.2. The dental fricatives and affricates were denoted by the signs containing *š*, *s*, *ṣ* and *z*.

a) The *š*-signs[20] in Elamite rendered the OP *š*, *s*, *ç* and more seldom *θ*, *č*, *z* (*ša-ak-ka* = OP Saka, *šu-šá-an* = OP *Çušā-*, *áš-šu-ra* =OP *Aθurā-*, *ma-ra-iš-mi-iš* = OP *Uvarazmī*, *ši-iš-šá-an-tak-ma* = OP *Čiçantaxma-*) and the Babylonian *š*, more seldom *s*, *ṣ*//*z* (*šu-ša-an* = Bab. *š u-š á-an*, *mi-iš -da-ad-da* = Bab. *ú-mi-iz//ṣ -da-a-tu ba-ir-ša* = Bab. *pa-ar-su*).
b) The *s*-signs in Elamite often alternated with the *š*-signs (the former were mostly used in later texts): OE *sudet* = ME *šutme* ; OE, ME *Simut* = ME, NE *Šimut.* Besides that, the alternation *t//s//š* is attested: *te//še//si-im-ti.* This interchange proves that the phoneme rendered by the *s* -signs was an affricate.

The *s*-signs in Elamite corresponded mainly to the non-palatalized phonemes *θ* and less frequently *z* in OP (*si-ka-ap* = OP *θika, su-iṣ-ṣa* = OP *Zūza-*) and to *s*, *z*, in Babylonian (*sa-ad-da-ku-iš* = Bab. *sa-at-ta-gu-ú*, *su-iṣ-ṣa* = Bab. *zu-ú-zu*).
The *z/ṣ* -signs were used to designate the OP *č*, *ǰ* and *z*. There are cases of alternation *z//š* (*Anšan //Anzan*). From this alternation and the designation of the OP *č* and *ǰ* by the *z/š* -signs it follows that they rendered a bifocal (palatalized) affricate (*č*).
Thus, the *s*- and *z/š* -signs were used for expressing both sibilant and bifocal affricates. However, there is not enough evidence to establish whether Elamite had non-palatalized sibilant affricates or if for lack of such phonemes in Elamite the OP and Babylonian sibilants were rendered as *č* in Elamite. However, were it so, the OP interdental fricatives and the sibilant *z* would have been denoted rather by the *š* -signs, used both for a sibilant and a bifocal fricative, than by the signs reflecting a bifocal affricate. Although not very conclusive, this fact speaks for the existence of a sibilant affricate *c*, alongside *č* in Elamite.
The difference between the phonemes denoted by the *s*- and *z/ṣ* -signs is not clear. According to D.W. McAlpin[21], they went back to the PED *c.* Anyway, the contrast between them was not strong, if we take into consideration the frequent alternation of the *s*- and *z/ṣ* -signs. From the fact that in AE the *s*-signs rendered the OP *θ* and *z*, whereas the *z/ṣ* -signs

20 According to I.M. Diakonoff (*Afrasian Languages*, Moscow, 1988, 37), these signs in the Akkadian cuneiform were used for all the historical non-affricates, whereas the *s*-, *ṣ* - and *z*-signs designated affricates.

21 D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 91.

reflected the OP *č* and *ǰ* (alongside less frequent *δ* and *z*, though), we may assume that at least in AE the *s*-signs were mainly used to render the phoneme *c*(?), while the *z/ṣ* -signs designated *č*.
Thus, in Elamite the dental spirants *s*, *š* and the affricates *c*(?) and *č* may be reconstructed.

2.3.3. The lack of special cuneiform signs for labial fricatives and sonants makes it difficult to ascertain the presence of these phonemes in Elamite.
The presence of at least one of them is proved, however, by the interchange *m//w* (PI) in *Sim//wepalarhuhpak* and *ligam//we* and by the alternation *m//p* in the word *tem//pti*. The OP *v* was designated by the *m*-signs and *f* by *pír* and *pár*.
This evidence is not, however, sufficient to define whether there were two phonemes (a fricative and a sonant) or only one. R.T. Hallock interpreted the initial *ú* as *w*[22]. But it should be noted that *ú* was usually followed by *u*C. And as the words with the initial vowel were often spelled V-VC in the Elamite script (cf. *a-ak*, *a-ap*), the spelling *ú-u*C must have meant *u*C, not **wu*C.

2.4. *SONANTS*

In Elamite the sonants *m*, *n*, *r*, *l* , rendered in script by the corresponding signs, may be reconstructed with certainty.

2.4.1. *Nasal sonants.*

a) *m*. In some words only double spelling of this phoneme is attested: *amma*, *summu*, *šamme*; others are only written with single *m* : *huma-*, the verbal suffix *-ma-*. In a number of words both double and single spelling are attested. In some cases the double spelling of *m* results from the assimilation of *n* to the following *m*, cf. the negative particle *imme* < **in-me*.
It is likely that by double spelling a strong, tense phoneme was rendered, as was the case with the stops, cf. I.2.1.
b) *n*. It is difficult to establish whether the contrast tense : lax was known to this phoneme. Unlike *m* , as well as *r* and *l* (see below), not a single word with regularly doubled *n* is attested. There are, however, words with single spelling only (*zana*, *lani*, *hani*, the plural suffix *-nu-*), the cases of alternating spelling were still more frequent.

Before the plural marker *-p n* was labialized (*n* > *m*), it was assimilated to the following *l* and *m* : *ullina* < **un-lina*, *imma //e* < **in-ma //e*.

2.4.2. *Liquids.*

a) Elamite orthography distinguished clearly between the words spelled with double *r* and those written with single *r* : *sarra-* "to collect, to assemble", *sara-* "to divide, to apportion". This must have meant the existence of two distinct phonemes rendered by the *r*-signs. One of them (spelled with single *r*), according to D.W. McAlpin, went back to the alveolar stop **t*, the other (spelled with double *r*) to **r*[23].

22 R.T. Hallock, *PFT*, 774.

23 D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 93.

In spite of McAlpin's opinion, the contrast *r* : *rr* is observed not only in AE, but in ME as well, which is evident from his own etimologies.
The existence of a non-trilled *r̥* in Elamite is proved by the fact that the name of the Akkadian deity *Lagamal* was spelled *Lagamar* in Elamite, whereas the Elamite deity *Ruhuratir* appears in the form *Lahuratil* in Neo-Assyrian. Further proof of the non-trilled character of this phoneme is the interchange of the forms *šari-* and *šanu//i-* of the verb of being[24].

b) The *l*-signs in Elamite must have also expressed two different phonemes. This is revealed from the consistent distinction of geminated and single spelling, cf. the minimal pair *hali-* "to ornate(?)" : *halli-* "land"[25]. McAlpin traces these phonemes back to PED. One of them (spelled with geminated *l*) originated from the retroflex *l̥*, whereas the other went back to the alveolar *l*. The existence of the retroflex *l̥* in Elamite is proved by the alternation *š*///*l* in *nuš*///*lki*, if we deal here with one and the same word, of course.
ll sometimes resulted from the assimilation of *n* with the following *l*. Moreover, it was used to designate the Akkadian *ll*. In these cases *ll* was probably pronounced with tension or length.

2.5. *SEMI-VOWELS*

2.5.1. In spite of a considerable number of words with *i̯* , the existence of the semi-vowel *y* is doubtful. To denote *i̯* the cuneiform signs *i̯a*, as well as the spellings *i-i̯a*, *a-a* were used. In AE which had lost the phoneme *h*, *i̯* was also denoted by *h*V: *i̯a-u-na* = OP *Yauna*, *ku-ši-i̯a* = OP *Kūšiya*, *ú-i-i̯a-ma* = OP *Uyamā-*, *da-a-i̯a-u-//da-a-ú-//da-a-hu-* = OP *dahyu/ā-*, *i̯a-mi-iz-za* //*i-ú-mi-za* //*hi-u-mi-za* //*ú-mi-iz-za*.
i̯ is mostly attested in foreign words and proper names. In Elamite words it is attested before the particle *-a* after *i* and, evidently, functions as a glide. In the initial position it is attested only in two words: *i̯a-re-en-tu*, alongside more usual *erentum* and *i̯a-ak*, alongside *a-ak*[26]. These spellings are, perhaps, scribal mistakes.
It may be assumed from the aforesaid that *i̯* in Elamite was the non-syllabic allophone of *i*, rather than a separate phoneme.

2.5.2.There is no evidence proving the existence of the sonant *w*, either, cf. I.2.3.3.
It is more likely, that the Elamite *u̯* was the non-syllabic allophone of *u*.

3. *DIPHTHONGS*

For lack of semi-vowels Elamite could not have had diphthongs, either.
Only two of them, *i̯a* and *au̯*, are attested in Elamite words. *i̯* in *i̯a*, as noted above, was a glide between *i* and *a*. As to *au̯*, its pronunciation is not clear. It is attested in the word

24 The idea of the alveolar character of the Elamite *r* was expressed by E. Hamp (*Word* XIII, 1957, 502), who based his assumption on Paper's notice about the articulatory closeness of the elements *ir* and *in*, used confusedly in AE.

25 Evidently, it is not correct to trace *halat* "brick" to *hal* "country".

26 The pronunciation [ak] is ascertained by such forms as *zu-lu-ka-ak*, *hu-ma-ka-ak*, where the conjunction *ak* joins the preceding verb.

mau̯ri- "to seize", often alternating with *marri-*. The only word with the consistent spelling *a-u̯* is *zau̯min*. The consistency of *au̯* in this word may be explained by its position before a labial vowel denoted by *m*.
The OP diphthong *ai̯* was rendered in Elamite by a simple vowel: OP *daiva* = El. *da-a-ma*, OP *axšaina* = El. *ak-še-*[*na*], OP *maiy* = El. *-me*, OP *haraiva* = El. *har-ri-ma*.

4. PROSODIC TYPE

The prosodic type of Elamite is not clear. The fact that the final *i* was neutralized (reduced), cf. *hupe//hupibe*, proves that the final syllable was not stressed.
From the fact that the vowel of the second syllable in disyllabic words, expanded by suffixation, was usually lost it may be assumed that the first syllable was stressed[27].

5. SYLLABLE

The main type of the Elamite syllables was $(C_1)V(C_2)$: *mu-run*, *nuš-giš*, *ti-ri-ma-nun*, *e-re-en-tum*$_4$.
Syllables of the $(C_1)VC_2C_3$ type, which are the result of certain phonetical processes were also common, cf.[*tirimanp*] (graph. *ti-ri-man-pi*).

27 Cf. F. Grillot-Susini, *JA* 282/1, 1994, 15.

CHAPTER II

WORD STRUCTURE AND WORD FORMATION

Elamite was an agglutinative suffixal language. The suffixes joined either the root or the stem.

The root morpheme consisted mostly of two consonants and one or two vowels: *nap* "deity", *ruh* "man", *zana* "lady", *kap* "treasure", *kik* "sky" etc.

The stem consisted of a root ending in a consonant, with thematic vowels *-i*, *-u*, *-a*, cf. *pet-i-*, *mur-u-*, *tahh-a-* (< *tah-*). The thematic vowels *-u* and *-a* were only attested with verbal stems, whereas *-i* with nominal and nomino-verbal ones: *tir-i-* "to speak", *kukk-i* "vault, roof", *peti-* "enemy; to revolt"[28].

1. *NOMINAL STRUCTURE*

1.1. The noun consisted of:
a) a root ending in a vowel or a consonant (*nap*, *zana*);
b) an enlarged root (*kukki*);
c) a stem followed by class markers (*sunki-r*, *meni-r*);
d) a stem followed by derivational suffixes (*sunki-me*, *siia-n*);
e) a compound stem followed by derivational suffixes (*si-me-n, kik-muru-n*).

1.2. *Class markers (classifiers).*
The structure of the Elamite language was to a large extent determined by the existence of the following class markers, added to the noun:
-k/g for the locutive (1p. sg.)
-t for the allocutive (2p. sg.)[29]
-r for the delocutive (3p.) animate singular
-p for the delocutive animate plural
-me, *-t*, *-n*[30] for the delocutive inanimate.
The use of these class markers depended on the class of the substantive. The locutive, allocutive and delocutive animate markers were used with nouns denoting persons, whereas the delocutive inanimate markers with those denoting things.
The delocutive markers, except those added to the attribute, apposition and predicative and performing a syntactical function, were essentially derivational.

28 Cf. F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 12; *idem*, *JA* 282/1, 1994, 7.

29 Different from the delocutive inanimate *-t*. Maybe this marker penetrated here from the system of the verbal personal markers (cf. VII.1, Table I).

30 The marker *-n* was, perhaps, neutral.

1.3. *Derivational suffixes*

In addition to the derivational suffixes which originated from the delocutive markers, cited above, the derivational suffixes -(*a*)*š* and - *əN* are to be mentioned.

a) -*r*(*a*) and its plural variant -*p*(*e*) formed personal substantives indicating a member of a group (-*r*) or the group itself (-*p*).
Added to the verbal stem these suffixes formed *nomina* actoris: *peti-r* "enemy", *peti-b* "enemies", *liba-r* "servant", *liba-p* "servants".
Added to toponyms, they were used to denote ethnic groups: *hinduja-ra* "Indian", *hinduš -pe* "Indians" (< *Hinduš* "India").
These suffixes were used with loan-words, as well: *kurtaš-ra* "worker", *kurtaš-pe* "workers".
Attributes with the delocutive classifiers could be used substantively: *kat-ri* "lord, master", lit. "(that) of the throne")[31].

b) -*me*. This suffix was mostly (but not exclusively) used to form abstract nouns: *sunki-me* "kingship", *tuppi-me* "text" < *tuppi* "tablet", *titki-me* "lie" < *tit-* "to lie"[32], *liba-me* "service" (cf. *liba-r* "servant"), *takki-me* "life", *sit-me* "destiny".

c) -*t*(*e*). The exact meaning of this suffix is not clear. Perhaps it formed neutral substantives: *hal-te* "door", *Haltam-ti* "Elam", *hala-t* "brick", *Nahhun-te* "Sun".

d) -*əN* (-*um*, -*in*, -*am*, -*un*, -*n*)[33]. These suffixes were part of neutral nouns with a weakly expressed abstract meaning, often connected with building or locality (*muru-n* "land", *sija-n* "temple", *erenti-m* "fired brick", *huhu-n* "wall", *siru-m* "sword", *Šuša-n* "Susa", *šati-n* "priest"[34], but also *rapta-m* "goat".

e) -(*a*)*š*. This suffix, especially widespread in AE, was part of vocabulary connected with agriculture and of OP loan-words (*ara-š* "granary", *luta-š* "pasture lands", *kakata-š*, a kind of fowl, *kurta-š* "worker", *Hindu-š* "India").
With the help of derivational suffixes added to inanimate roots new animate and inanimate nouns could be formed (*men* "crown" > *meni-r* "sovereign", *meni-n* "sovereignty").

Personal names, personal pronouns and kinship terms had no delocutive markers (except -*p* functioning as a plural marker). According to Reiner[35], these nouns did not need any classifier, for their lexical meaning indicated the class they belonged to.
Apart from the categories of substantives mentioned above, there were also nouns derived from participles by means of a delocutive or a -Ø marker, cf. VII.9b.

1.4. *Compounds*

The compound substantives in Elamite were formed:

a) by juxtaposition of two nouns: *kik+murun* "universe", lit: "sky+earth"; *si+men* "firmament", lit. "fore+hind";

b) from the noun and its attribute: *nan +han-te* "advice", lit. "word of love"[36].

31 Cf. F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 15.

32 Note, however, *tit-me* "tongue", which is not abstract.

33 Cf. D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 66.

34 According to I.M. Diakonoff ("The Elamite Language" in the encyclopaedic edition "*Jazyki mira*", Moskva, in print), this word originally meant occupation and afterwards its performer.

35 E. Reiner, *EL*, 88.

36 Cf. F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 15.

2. *VERBAL DERIVATION*

The verbal stem in Elamite consisted of a root ending in a vowel or an enlarged stem with a thematic vowel: *kuk-i* "to protect" < *kuk-*.

The verbal stem could be modified by means of reduplication (*li-* > *li* +*li-*). In this case the first component usually underwent some modification losing its second consonant (*tallu-* "to write" > **tal*+*tallu-* > *tatallu-*; *hapu-* "to hear" > **hap*+*hapu-* >*hah*(*a*)*pu*; *bela-* "to fight" > **bel*+*bela* > *beb*(*e*)*la-* .

There were numerous compound verbs in Elamite (*kuk*+*ta-* "to defend", lit.: "defense+put"; *mur-*+*ta-* "to place", lit.: "earth+put").

The verbal base was often followed by the suffix *-ma-* (*tiri-ma-nu-n*). In a few cases this suffix was preceded by the delocutive classifier *-r-* or the participal markers *-n-* and *-k-* (*pepši-r-ma-h*, *bali-k-ma-n-ki*, *pera-n-ma-n-ka*). For a more detailed discussion of this suffix cf. VII.2.1.

Next came the pluralizing suffix *-nu-* (*hi-nu-n-ka*), cf. VII.2.2.

In the verbal conjugation the personal subject endings were added to the root/stem or the suffix *-ma-*. The former could be followed by classifiers nominalizing the verbal form. In the nominal/participial conjugation the participial markers *-n-* and *-k-*, followed by the class markers, were added to the verbal base or the suffixes *-ma-* and/or *-nu-*.

The final position in the suffix chain in both the verbal and the nominal conjugations was occupied by the particle *-a* (cf. X.5).

CHAPTER III

SUBSTANTIVES

1. The substantives in Elamite were characterized by the categories of class and number. The former was a covert category. It was revealed only in the attributes determining the substantive[37].
The class marker of animates was *-r*, that of inanimates *-me* (*ušhi* "hero" - *ušhi-u-ri* "my hero"; *si̯an* "temple" - *si̯an-u-me* "my temple").
The Elamite noun had two numbers: singular and plural. The plural was expressed by the plural delocutive classifier *-p*, added to the animate nouns (*taššu-p* "troops", *nappi-p* "gods").

2.1. Declension was not peculiar to the Elamite noun. The subject-object relations were expressed syntactically (the subject opened the sentence, whereas the object was placed before the verb, which closed the sentence: *Uramazda pikti u daš* "Ahuramazda sent me help", DB §38)[38].

2.2. Possession was expressed by adding the class marker of the determined substantive (*-r*, *-me*, *-p*) to the attribute (*dari-p Narāmsîn-ippa* "Narāmsîn's allies", EKI 2 §19; *kukunnum Inšušnak-me* "Inšušnak's *kukunnum*", *ibid.*, 13 II; *temti alimeli-ri* "the lord of acropolis", *ibid.*, 61B III).
The neutral classifier *-ni*, as well as the relative/connective particle *-a*, were also used in the same function (*si̯an Išnikarap-ni* "Išnikarap's temple", EKI 47 §3; *kukunnum Insušnak-ni* "Insušnak's sanctuary", *ibid.*, 61B III; *si̯an Manzat-me ak Simutt-a* "the temple of Manzat and Simut", *ibid.*, 65 V).
At a later period (NE and especially AE) the marker *-ni* coupled with *-a* (*-na*) was often used to denote possessive relationship.
In AE the marker *-na* had almost completely replaced the others and functioned as a special genitival ending (*kitin nappip-na* "the gods' *kitin*", EKI 75 §36; *hurtu Anšanip-na ak Šušenip-na* "the people of Anšan and Susa (lit.: of Anšanians and Susians)", *ibid.*, 3 VI; *ṣalmu Šutruk-Nahhunte-na* "Šutruk-Nahhunte's picture/image", *ibid.*, 74 §40; *za̯min Uramazda-na* "by Ahuramazda's favour/will", DB, passim).

2.3. Spatial relationships were expressed by means of a postpositional construction (cf. IX.1). In AE enclitic particles deriving from postpositions were also known. These particles actually functioned as case endings:

directive/allative *-ikki* "to, towards, into"

37 In nouns ending in *-r*, *-n*, *-me*, *-t* these elements functioned as derivational suffixes, cf. II.1.2.

38 The rubrication of this text is given according to F.W. Weißbach, *KA*.

locative	*-ma*[39] "in(to), on(to)" (temporal and spatial)
superessive	*-ukku* "on, in, according to"
ablative-separative	*-mar* "from, out of" (temporal and spatial)

Apart from these markers some compound "case endings" were also known:
ablative-instrumental *-ikki-mar* "from, by" (with animates) and *-ma-mar* "from, near" (with inanimates).
Examples with "case endings"
-ikki:
Mašti zana Tarrišara-ikki hahpuhu "we listened to Mašti, the lady of Tarriša", EKI 76 §7;
kuš u šinnukit Madabe-(i)kki "until I came to Media", DB §25;
Tiraziš halmarriš-ikki "by the fortress of Tiraziš (Shiraz)", PF 160:4/5;
Harminuiap-ikki hami šaparakumme huddaš "in Armenia, there he gave a battle", DB §27.
-ma:
siian Manzatme ak Simutta DINGIR Hatamtirme-ma tattah "in the temple of Manzat and Simut, the gods of Elam, I placed (it)", EKI 65 V;
alimelu[40] *siian-ma* [*Inšušinak*] *napiruri i sima tattah* "in acropolis in the temple before Inšušinak, my god, I placed (it)", *ibid.*, 28A §26;
u tuppime daekki hudda hariia-ma "I made another inscription in Aryan", DB §70;
kurpi unina-ma "into my hands", *ibid.*, §54;
bel ki-ma hudda "I did (it) in one year", *ibid.*, §62.
-ukku:
kudda halat-ukku kudda KUŠ-ukku . . . hudda "I made on clay as well as on leather", DB §70;
[*muru*]*n hi kirmaqa-ukku* (DSf 3c:15), *kirmaqa murun hi-ukku* (DSz 3c:13) "upon the (lit: this) whole earth";
šutur-ukku hupakut "I proceeded according to the law", DB §63.
-mar (this particle is also attested in the form *-humar*, with mute *h*[41]): *meni u Babili-mar lilukutta Madabekki pariia* "then I left Babylon and set out to Media", DB §31.
-mamar: *hupibe Agmadana halmarriš-mamar SAG appini šara* "by the fortress of Agmadana I decapitated them", DB §32.
-ikki-mar:
meni taššup marrida Kanbusiia-ikki-mar bep[*tibba hupiri*]*kki pariš* "then all the people rose against/broke away from Cambyses and went to him (Gaumata)", DB §11;
halmarriš-ikki-mar "out of/away from the fortress", PF 1591:7/8.
When the noun was followed by an attribute these "case markers" were attached to the attribute (*ulhi unini-ma-mar* "out of my palace", PF 1835:5/6; *sip unina-ma* "at my gate", DB §32). This proves that they were postpositions and not case endings.

39 This marker should not be confused with the particle *-ma*, nominalizing the verb of the subordinate clause and going back to the class marker *-me* and the relative/connective particle *-a*, cf. F. Grillot, *JA* 266, 1978, 8-13.

40 W. Hinz and H. Koch (*EW*, 47) consider *alimelu* as a mixed Akkadian-Elamite form (< Akk. *alimelim* + El. *u* "I") and translate *alimelu siian-ma* as "in the temple of my acropolis", which is not convincing.

41 R.T. Hallock (*PFT*, 725) considered *-hu-* a graphical variant of the demonstrative pronoun *hi* and translated it "from him", which is not convincing, for in some cases *-hu-* stands between the postpositions *-ikki-* and *-mar* (*-ikkihumar*). Probably, it was the graphical variant of the postposition reflecting the stress on the penultimate.

CHAPTER IV

ADJECTIVES

1. FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

There was no special class of adjectives in Elamite. The mechanism of forming adjectives was the same as that used to express attributive relationships. In other words, adjectives were formed by means of:

a) the class marker of the determined noun: *riša-ri* "big", *lansiti-nni* "golden";
b) the relative/connective particle *-a.* This particle was widely used to form verbal adjectives (passive participles): *(h)azza-k(k)-a* "great", *karsu-k-a* "dyed", *katu-k-a* "alive", *halpi-k-a* "dead", *mišnu-k-a* "bad";
c) class markers coupled with the particle *-a* : *upati-mm-a* (< -me-*a*) "of brick", *riša-rr-a* (< *-ri-a*) "big", *irša-n-a* (< *-ni-a*) with the same meaning;
d) the "genitive" marker *-na*: *malu-na* "wooden", *hašu-na* "adult (qualifying animals), *bali-na* "male".

To the verbal adjectives, used substantively, a classifier, or, rather, a derivational suffix (cf. II.1.3) was attached: *kapnuški-r* "treasurer", *ištu-k-ra* "(a) weak (man)", *ibba-k-r-a* "(a) strong (man)", *laha-k-r-a* "(a) dead (person)", *katu-k-r-a* "(a) living (person)" etc.

2. *COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES*

2.1. The superlative degree was expressed descriptively, by coupling the adjective with the relative ("genitival") plural form of the determined noun: *rišar nappi-p-ir* "the greatest of/among gods", lit. "the great of the gods", EKI 54 §1; *hupiri iršara appina ir hudda* "I made him the greatest among them/their great", DB §25.

2.2. The comparative degree of adjectives is not attested. It is, however, likely that it was expressed by the adjective coupled with the relative singular form of the determined noun.

CHAPTER V

NUMERALS

1. *CARDINAL NUMERALS*

As numbers in Elamite texts were mostly denoted by figures, only a few numerals are attested: *ki(r)* "one", *mar* "two(?)", *zit* "three".
The root denoting "ten" evidently made part of the widely attested lexeme *rit* "tithe".

2. *ORDINAL NUMERALS*

This group of numerals was formed by means of the morphemes *-ummemana* (with various modifications: *-ummema*, *-me*, *-mema*, *-mena*, *-menama*, *-ummera*, *-ummeni* etc.) and *-edana*: *bel* 22-*ummemanna* "the 22nd (year)", *bel* 23-*ummina* "the 23rd year", *u* 9-*ummema* "I am the ninth" (DB §4, 27, 30), 2-*edana*[42] "the second".

3. *FRACTIONS*

Fractions were formed by means of the formant *-irmaki*, literally meaning "one (*ki*) in it *(irma)*"[43]. The number preceding this formant was the denominator, while that standing before the denominator was the numerator: 3-*irmaki* "one third", lit.: "3 (forming) one (a whole) in it"; 2 3-*irmaki* "two thirds".
In the fractions with denominators 20 and 30 the suffix *-irmaki* had the form *-kurmaki* caused by the final consonant of these numerals, evidently, *-k* (on the pronunciation of *u* as *i* cf. I.1.3).
The formants *-kur* and *-kurki* were probably the short forms of *-kurmaki*.
The word *kirmaki* "whole" had probably the following structure: *ki-irmaki*, lit.: "one (forming) one in it".
"Half" was denoted by the word *pirnuba* (with variants *pirnubak*, *pirnubbema*, *pirnušu*, *pirnupšu*, *pirnušut*): *pirnuba pansukaš dumanba* "they will receive half a shekel", PT 18:22.
To denote half a *QA* (measure of capacity) the word *tan* was used: (1)*tan QA* or (1)*tan.* lg.
According to Hallock, *tan* denoted a certain capacity, not "half"[44].
One tenth was expressed by the word *rit(ta)*[45].

42 The lexeme 2-*edana* (PF 879:10) was also used in the meaning of "in / during 2 months" (PF 24:14).

43 Cf. G.G. Cameron, *PTT*, 32.

44 Cf. R.T. Hallock, *PFT*, 73.

45 Cf. R.T. Hallock, *ibid.*, 749.

In NE and AE the expression *hupibe* 2-*bebda* may, however, have been a rebus writing of the word *marbebda* "all" (cf. VI.5).

CHAPTER VI

PRONOUNS

1. *PERSONAL PRONOUNS*

1.1.The personal pronouns in Elamite are the following:
1p. sg. *u*
2p. sg. *ni* (OE), *nu/ni* (ME), *nu* (AE)
1p. pl. *nika* (OE, ME), *nuku* (NE, AE)
2p. pl. *num, numi*
In the function of the third person personal pronouns the demonstrative pronouns were used (cf. VI.2.3).
Examples:
1p. sg.:
u Šilhak-Insušnak šak [*Šutruk*]*-Nahhunte-k* . . . "I, Šilhak-Inšušnak, Šutruk-Nahhunte's son . . . ", EKI 46 §2;
kukunnum zunkip uripupi imme kušihša u kuših "I built the *kukunnum* which the former kings did not built", *ibid.*, 13B V;
Inšušinak napiruri u r-tahhanra . . . "Inšušinak, my god, having ordered me . . . ", *ibid.*, 20 III;
meni u Babili-mar lilukudda "then I took field from Babylon", DB §31;
Uramazda pikti u daš "Ahuramazda gave me help", *ibid.*, §26.
2p. sg.:
e Inšuš[*inak napiruri*] *nu u n-tahhanta* . . . "o, Inšušinak, my god, you having/as you have helped me . . . ", EKI 28 A §21;
ni bat-r u r-tatni "to my feet (lit.: under me) may you put (them)", *ibid.*, 45 §7;
nu akka meššin tuppi hi bebranti "you, who will read this inscription in the future . . . ", DB §56.
1p. pl.:
Šimut-nika-taš, personal name, lit.: " Šimut gave/sent to us"[46].
In NE *nuku* is, perhaps, attested in *tit nuku*[47] *tahhaša* "he sent us a message", EKI 74 §10, and *Šutruru* . . . *tit nuku*[47] *r-tahhanra* . . . " Šutruru . . . having sent us a message . . .", *ibid.*, §13;
AE: *huhbe in-tukki-me nuku Hak*[*kamanu*] *šiṇa tirimanun* "for this reason we are called the Achaemenids", DB §3;
inni nuku dunaš "he did not give to us", PF 1957:38;
nuku mile hapimanun "we investigated him", Fort. 8975:5.

46 "Simut helped us", according to W. Hinz and H. Koch, *EW*, 1167.

47 According to Hinz and Koch, *EW*, 328. König reads *titnuku* and interprets it as "hecatomb", *EKI*, 222.

2p. pl.:
e Napiriša Kiririša Insušnak num u tenti "o, Napiriša, Kiririša, Insušnak, (may) you be merciful to me", EKI 47 §31;
numi hami huttaš "(may) you do there", PF 1858:16;
appa Šumama numi [*tiriman*]*ra hube anu huttanti* "whatever Šumama tells you, do not do it", PF 2071:11.

1.2. Unlike the substantives, the personal pronouns had a special objective (accusative) form, ending in *-n*: *u-n* "me", *nu-n* "you (sg.)", *nuku-n* "us", *numu-n* "you (pl.)".
Examples:
1p. sg.:
Napiriša u-n haniš "Napiriša loved me", EKI 4 C III;
u[48] *Uramazda u-n nušgišni* "may Ahuramazda protect me", XPa §4.
Besides *un*, the forms *um*, *unahan*, *uhanan* and *unanku*[49] are also attested in AE:
hupirri um beša hupirri sunki unanku huttaš "he created me and he made me king", DNa §4.
2p. sg.:
u ak Nahhunte[*Utu*] *muhti nu-n kullahu* "I and Nahhunte-Utu implore you with offerings", EKI 54 §13;
Uramazda nu-n kanišni "may Ahuramazda befriend you", DB §60.
The accusative form of *nuku* is not attested.
2p. pl.:
u Šilhak-Insušnak [*muhdu*] *numu-n kullah* "I, Šilhak-Insušnak, implore you with offerings", EKI 47 §31.

1.3.The personal pronouns, like substantives, were used in the so called "genitive" and other "cases" in NE and especially AE.
Examples:
Genitive, 1p. sg.:
zaumin Uramazdana taššup appa unina taššup appa betipna iršekki halpiš "By Ahuramazda's will my troops defeated the troops of the enemy", DB §26;
daddam appa unini "my law (lit.: the law which of mine)", Xph 15;
appa unina huddak "what I did", DB §8[50];
Perhaps the form *numini* attested in an unclear context in a NE letter from Susa was the genitive form of the 2 p. pl. personal pronoun.
Directive, 1p. sg.:

48 Note the use of the object in its usual place and, in addition, in the initial form, at the beginning of the sentence.

49 *-m* in *um* results from the assimilation of *-n* with the initial labial consonant of the following word (*beša*).
The forms *unan*, *unahan*, as well as the genitive form *unini/a* (cf. VI.1.3), according to McAlpin (*PEDEI*, 112), prove that they were built on the PED accusative base in **-n*. There is, however, another interpretation of these forms: W. Hinz and H. Koch (*EW*, 1235), following F. Bork, interpret *unan*, *unahan*, as well as hapax *uhanan* as *un ahan* "me here" (*h* was not pronounced at that period, hence the alternation *ahan//an*). The final *-ku* in the form *unanku*, according to W. Hinz, reflected the nasalization of *n* before the following *(h)uttaš*.

50 This sentence is a calque from the OP quasi-ergative construction with the subject in genitive, and *unina* is used here in the subjective function.

hamimar marrika u-ikki tingik "there (lit.: from there) he was seized and sent to me", DB §32.
2p. sg.:
KU3.BABBAR nu-ikka-na hubemamar ap iddu "from (*-na*) the silver you have (which is about/on you), give them from it", PT 28:5; 29:6.
Ablative, 1p. sg.:
hupirri u-ikki-mar beptukka "he rebelled against me (lit.: from me)", DB §33;
u-ikki-mar ap tirika "it was told them by me", *ibid.*, §8.
2p. pl.:
anka tuppi nu-ik-mar . . . tibbe danda "when you send a tablet . . . from you", PFa 28:11.

2. *DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS*

2.1.Elamite had the following demonstrative pronouns:
hi//i[51]
ap(i)
hu(pe)
hi//i and *ap(i)* were the singular and plural deictical bases of proximate object.
hu(h) was the deictic base of distant object.

2.2. When used as adjectives, the pronouns *hi* and *hupe*, as a rule (not always, though), followed the determined noun, whereas *api* and *hu(h)* preceded it.
Examples:
daiauš hi appa beptippi."these countries, which revolted", DB §54;
LUGAL2 murun-hi-ukku "king on the (lit.: this) earth", XPa 2;
kat-hi-ma-ukku halmarraš hi kušika "in this place this fortress is/was built", DPf 2;
hi appa tuppi-hi-ma tallik "what is written on this tablet", DB §54;
Uramazda hi sunkime u dunuš "Ahuramazda gave me this kingdom", DB §9;
Martiia hupirri . . . ir halpiš "they killed that (very) Martiia", DB §23;
api sunkip urpuppi haštu Inšušinakni halihši "these former kings made (Hinz)/ ornated (König) the *haštu* of Inšušinak", EKI 48 §3;
hu siianime kukših "I built this temple (temple complex?)[52], EKI 13a VI;
Šilhak-Inšušinak šak Ummanunura huh siian DILBAT zana Šušunra i dunušda "Šilhak-Inšušinak, Ummanunu's son, gave this temple to Dilbat, the Lady of Susa, *ibid.*, 78 I.

2.3. In nominal sentences when these pronouns preceded the substantive, they functioned as the subject of the sentence and were translated "this is/ here is" and "these are/here are":
hi daiama akkabena u LUGAL2-appini-kut "these/here are the countries, whose king I am", XPh 12;
hi parsirra "this/ here is a Persian", A^3 P I;
appi 9 *sunkip appa . . . u mauriia* "these/ here are the 9 kings . . . whom I seized, DB §53.
According to McAlpin (PEDEI, 141), originates from PED *(*h*)*ih* "this".

51 According to McAlpin (*PEDEI*, 141), originates from PED *(*h*)*ih* "this".

52 On the interpretation for *siianime* cf. n. 64.

2.4. When used substantively, the demonstrative pronouns had also the meaning of the 3rd person personal pronouns.
Used in this function, the pronouns *i* and *api*, unlike *hupe*, had special accusative forms, ending in *-n* (cf. VI.1.2).
Besides the form *i-n*, the pronoun *(h)i* had another accusative form, *ir*, used when this pronoun replaced an animate substantive.
(h)i was never used as the 3rd person subjective personal pronoun, but only in the objective function.
When placed at the beginning of the sentence, *(h)i* functioned as a demonstrative pronoun.
Unlike *hi*, *hu(pe)* could function as a subject. This pronoun had three forms:
hube (inanimate)
hupirri (animate)
hupibe (animate plural).
It could also be used in the "genitive" and other "cases"[53].
Examples:
hube:
hube u tingiia . . . "I sent that and . . . ", DB §14;
appanka uikkimar ap tirikka hube hud[*daš*] "when (something) was told them by me, they did it", DB §8;
hube in-tukki-me "because of that", DB, passim;
hupirri:
hupirri Hatamtupikki imaka "he revolted in Elam", DB §16;
hupirri sillaka ir kukti "I upheld him greatly", DB §63;
hupirri iddu "issue give to him", PT 1:10;
hupirri-ikki [*pariš* . . . "to him they went", DB §40;
hupibe:
hupibe uikkimar beptibba "they rose/rebelled against me", DB §36;
miteš taššup Madabe akkabe . . . hupibe halpiš "go, the Median troops which . . . , beat them", *ibid.*, §25;
akkabe sunkip irpippi kuš šanup hupibena hi nubbak inni huddak "while the kings, my predecessors, lived (lit.: were), nothing like this was done by them", DNa §3:16 (calque from the OP quasi-ergative construction with the subject in genitive).
(h)i:
hi u Bakšiš hudda "I did this in Bactria", DB §39;
hi ṣila hi tiriia "thus I spoke to him and . . . ", *ibid.*, § 26;
Šilhak-Inšušinak huh siian DILBAT i dunušda "Šilhak-Inšušinak gave this temple to *DILBAT* to her", EKI 78 I;
Inana pelti . . . ir šarih ir ahar murtah "Inana, the Lady . . . , I founded her (statue and) placed her (it) here", *ibid.*, 10 A II-III.
ap(pi):
appi taššup appi r-titip "they lied to the people, to them", DB §54;
appi titkime appin beptaš "the lie roused them to revolt (lit.: they, the lie roused them)", *ibid.*, §54;
ulhi i[54] *aha kuših Napiriša ak Insušnak Siiankukpa ap u dunih* "I built here his *ulhi*, to Napiriša and Insušnak of Siiankuk I gave (it) to them", EKI 9 IIIa III-IV;

53 Coupled with spatial "case" endings they formed adverbs (cf. VIII.f).

54 According to Hinz and Koch (cf. *EW*, 1216) by analogy with *suhmutu i*; König (cf. *EKI*, 50) reads *ul-hi-i*.

u Untaš -Napiriša siṭan DN *kuših apun šarih ahan murtah*[55] "I, Untaš-Napiriša, built a temple for DN, I founded them (their statues and) placed them here", *ibid.*, 10B I-III.
Another, perhaps an objective form *apup* is attested in an unclear context (EKI 55 §2): *apup halih* "I made/ ornated them(?)".

2.5. Besides the pronouns *(h)i* and *ap(pi)*, there was another anaphoric pronoun of the indirect object - *ha* (NE, AE)[56]
Examples:
u . . . [erentim tipuh ak] siṭan Inšušinakme ha kuših "I . . . moulded bricks and built the temple of Inšušinak out of them", EKI 84;
haranzanam appa halmarraš ha karsuka "the paint with which the fortress(?) is painted", DSz. 39;
daṭauš unina ha huddap "the countries became mine", DB §§39, 48;
UDU.NITA$_2$ ha duka "a sheep was received for it", PF 587:3;
ha interpreted by Hallock as a "generalized resumptive" pronoun[57], probably went back to *aha* "here"[58]. It is noteworthy that McAlpin traces *aha* back to the PED **ah* "that (not distant)"[59].
The presence of a special pronoun for the indirect object, different from the common and accusative forms, proves that Elamite was a considerably advanced nominative language.

2.6. Two more demonstrative pronouns are attested in AE:
amminnu (<**am-innu*?) and *innakki* (<**inna-kki*), meaning "that/this (very), (precisely) this":
sunkime [hube ap]pa Kammad[da ak]ka Maguš Kanbuṣiṭa emi dušti sunkime aminnu karadalari GUL nukami taš "the (lit.: that) kingdom which Gaumata the Magian took from Cambyses, that very kingdom has belonged to our family since long ago", DB §12;
innakki habadana Dariṭamauš. . uddašta "Darius had built . . that very *habadana*", A^2Sa 3.
Evidently, both pronouns included the deictic element **innu/a.*

3. *POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS*

Elamite had two series of possessive pronouns.

3.1.The first series was represented by forms which were actually personal pronouns coupled with the class marker of the determined noun.
1p. sg.: *-u-ri, -u-me, -u-pe*
2p. sg.: *-ni-ri* (OE), *-ni-bi* (OE), *-nu-me*[60] (ME)

55 In the text *ku-ur-ta-h* by mistake.

56 According to F. Vallat (cf. *NABU* 1, 1987, 66), the indirect object pronoun *kaš* did not exist: the sign read as *kaš* was, in fact, the graphical variant of *hi.*

57 R.R. Hallock, *PFT*, 9.

58 Cf. F. Bork, *MAOG* 7/3, 1933, 17.

59 D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 141.

60 If König's interpretation of *siṭanummema* as *siṭan-nu-(m)me-ma* "into your temple" (EKI 28A §16) is correct. Hinz's objection that the 2p. sg. pronoun in ME was *ni*, not *nu* (*EW*, 1096) is not quite right, cf. VI.1.1.

3p. sg.: *-i/e-ri* (AE, ME?[61]), *-i-me* (ME), *-i/e-p(i)*?[62]
1p. pl.: *-nika-me* (ME), *-nika-be* (ME), *-nuka-mi* (AE)
3p. pl.: *-ap(i)-me* (ME), *-api-te* (ME), *-appi-ni*[63] (AE)
The 2 person plural pronoun is not attested.
Examples:
1p. sg.:
napir-u-ri "my god", *libar-u-ri* "my servant", *takkime-u-me* "my life", *aḫanip-u-pe* (graph. *a-a-* . . .) "my relatives".
2p. pl.:
bala-ni-bi "your *bala* ", *ritu-ni-ri* "your wife".
3p. sg.:
att-e-ri "his father", *irt-i-ri* "his wife", *ik-e-ri* "his brother", *libar-i-ri* "his servant", *siḫan-i-me* "her temple(?)"[64].
1p. pl.:
aḫanip-nika-be "our relatives", *kuš huhun-nika-me* "our future posterity", **par-nuka-mi* "our family".
3p. pl.:
hupe-api-me (graph. *hu-pi-e*) "their niche (Hinz)/pedestal (König)", *hiḫan-ap(i)-me* "their *hiḫan*", *likir-api-te*[65] "their offering(s)", *SAG-appi-ni* "their head", *libap-appi-ni* "their servants", *LUGAL$_2$-appi-ni* "their king".

3.2. The possessive pronouns of the second series, or the possessive pronouns proper were the following:
1p. sg. *-ta*[66] (AE)

61 It is not clear, if *mu-h-ti-ir-ri* "his wife" (Hinz)/female (König)" (EKI 45 §21) is to be interpreted as **muhtir-e* or **muhtir-i/e-ri.*

62 This form is, possibly, attested in *marbebda* "everybody, all", the plural of *marrida* "whole(?)": *mar-b-i/e-b-(da)* and *mar-(e/i)-ri(-da)* accordingly. However, it is uncertain, for the meaning of the stem *mar-* is not clear.

63 With the neutral classifier *-ni*, used irrespective of the class and number of the determined noun. When coupled with the reflexive pronoun *du-*, the first syllable of this pronoun was elided: *du-pi-ni.*

64 *murti Peltiḫa-me halatni kušikni u siḫan-me* (<**siḫan-i-me*?) *upat aktinni pepših kuših* "the murti of Beltiḫa was built of mudbricks, I renewed and built her(?) temple of glazed bricks", EKI 47 §24; *Napiriša turunka huttanra Siḫankuk siḫan-i-me upat hussip-me kuših* "in order that Napiriša do what I say, I built the temple of Siḫankuk (lit.: Siḫankuk, its temple) of mudbricks", ibid, 10 a-d II-III. If this interpretation of *siḫanime* is correct, we probably have the attributive construction peculiar to NE and AE (cf. XII.3.2).
It is, however, possible that *-ime* in *siḫanime* was not a possessive pronoun, but an abstract suffix, as in *zigratume* and *huhnime* (<*huhun* "wall"), cf. *hu siḫanime kuših huhnime hulpah "* I built this temple, I erected the wall", EKI 13a V. In this case *Siḫankuk siḫanime kuših* is to be translated: "I built a/the temple in Siḫankuk".

65 As *-te* was an inanimate class marker, *-r* in the substantive *likir*, determined by the pronoun *-api-te*, was not a class marker.

66 This pronoun is only attested with *atta* "father" in the construction *u atta-ta.* According to McAlpin (*PEDEI*, 116), *u* in this construction was a proclitic possessive pronoun, whereas *-ta* was a reflexive/resumptive pronoun corresponding to the 3p. possessive pronoun in Brahui (cf. *bava-ta* "his father") and hence *u attata* meant "my (*u*) own (*-ta*) father". It is, however, difficult to agree with this interpretation, for since the NE period (or even earlier, if the interpretation of *Siḫankuk*

2p. sg. *-ni* (AE)
3p. sg. *-e* (ME, NE, AE)
Examples:
(*u*) *atta-ta* "my father", *par-ni* "your family", *širi-ni* "your prosperity", *amma-e* "his mother", *akkaḫaš-e* "his companion", *hiš-e* "his name", *par-e* "his family/seed".
The pronouns of the first and second person plural are not attested.
There was no special pronoun of the 3 person plural. The 3p. pl. personal (demonstrative) pronoun with the 3p. sg. possessive pronoun *-e* was used instead: *gal-appi-e* "their ration", *puhu-appi-e* "their boy".
Thus, the 1 and 2p. sg. possessive pronouns were not used in ME, whereas the 3p. pronoun *-e* was very frequent. In AE, on the contrary, the 1p. sg. pronoun *-ta* is attested, the 3p. sg *-e* was less frequent, while the 2 p. sg. pronoun *-ni* is not attested at all.
Such distribution in the use of these pronouns proves that ME and AE belonged to different dialectal groups.
In spite of the absence of any regularity in the use of the pronouns of these two series, their very existence means that the possession category was known to Elamite and that the pronouns of the second series expressed inalienable possession, especially as they are attested with such substantives as *par* "family, seed", *atta* "father", *hiš* "name", *amma* "mother", which are used with the pronouns of inalienable possession in languages in which this category existed.

4. *RELATIVE, INDEFINITE, INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS*

4.1.The relative pronouns are:
akka (animate sg.)
akkabe, *akkap* (animate pl.) "who, which"
appa (inanimate) "what, which"
Unlike the personal pronouns and the demonstratives functioning as the 3 person personal pronouns, they had no special objective forms. In cases when the relative pronoun functioned as a direct object, the inanimate pronoun *appa* was used irrespective of the class of the substantive, determined by that pronoun.

siḫanime as "the temple of Siḫankuk" is correct, cf. n. 64) the attributive construction N *šak-*(*i*/*e-*)*ri* "N's son (lit.: N, his son") was widely spread in Elamite. And this very construction is present in *u atta-ta*, lit.: "I, my father", cf. also AE *u libar-u-ri* "my servant", with the possessive pronoun of the first series.
McAlpin's interpretation of the sentence *u Uramazda un nušgišni* (DNa §5) as "may my Ahuramazda protect me", instead of "as to me (lit.: I), may . . . " (cf. the Babylonian version: *anāku Ahuramazda* . . . , which is the literal translation of the Elamite sentence) is not convinging, either. Coming back to the construction N *šak-ri*, it is to be noted that Reiner (*BSLP* 55/1, 1960, 223) considered it a calque of the OP possessive construction and thought it necessary to revise the date of the Susa documents where this construction was often used. However, if this construction was, indeed, known in ME, it should not be explained by the OP influence.

Examples:
akka, akkabe, akkap, akkabena (genitive):
akka ṣalmumume humanra akka hutunra akka tuppime melkanra akka hišume sukunra "who takes my statue, who breaks (it), who spoils the inscription, who erases my name . . . ", EKI 16 III;
meni haltamtip . . . Martiia hupirri akka iršarra appini tirišti . . . ir halpiš "then the Elamites . . . killed that (very) Martiia who called himself their chief", DB §23;
sunkir akka dašda imme durnah "I did not know the king who had erected the stele", EKI 20 II;
akkap halpi huddah(i)šta "who made a battle", Inc. SeA:19[67];
taššup iršekki halpiš akkabe šašša Pirtiia ir turnašti "he killed a lot of people who had formerly known Smerdis", DB §13;
ṣalme[68] *ṣiš akkabe kat kutmampi* "look at the sculptures[69], which bear the throne", DNa §4;
sunkip urpuppa siian . . . akka[70] *kukšišta imme durnah* "I didn't know the former kings, who had built the temple", EKI 34 II;
hi daiama akkabena u sunki appini-kit "these are the countries[71], whose king I am", XPh 12.
appa:
appi 9 *sunkip appa u bet hi hatima mauriia* "these are the 9 kings, whom I seized in that battle," DB §53;
hal appa kušiha luppuruhni "may I . . . the *hal*, which I built", EKI 13 VIII;
ṣalmu appa Pinigir . . . i tak ingi in dununkumar "I will not give the statue that is set up to/for Pinigir, he says", *ibid.*, 74 §42;
appa u ap tiriia šitmana nanmana huhbe huddaš "what(ever) I told them, (be it) in the daytime (or) at night, they did it", DB §7.
In AE the relative pronouns were also used to connect the substantive with its attribute, which was a calque from OP[72], whereas in the classical period the attributive link was expressed by means of class markers (cf. III.2.2):
Kammadda akka makuš ir halpiia "Gaumata the Magian (lit.: who a Magian), I killed him", DB §13[73];
akkabe sunkip irpippi kuš šanu(!)*p*[74] "while the former kings (lit.: who kings former) lived (lit.: were)", *ibid.*, §59;
taššup appa unina taššup appa betipna iršekki halpiš[75] "my troops (lit.: the troops which mine) beat strongly the troops of my enemy (lit.: which of my enemy)", *ibid.*, §26.

67 Cited after W. Hinz und H. Koch, *EW*, 40.

68 After Weißbach (*KA*, 90); Hinz reads *zalman* (*EW*, 128).

69 The animate relative pronoun is used here, because sculptures of people are meant.

70 The singular form of the relative pronoun is used here with the plural substantive.

71 As the peoples of the country are meant, the pronoun is in plural.

72 Cf. E. Reiner, *BSLP* 55/1, 1960, 225.

73 Cf., however, *Kammadda maguš tubaka* "as to Gaumata the Magian" (DB §41), without *akka*.

74 In the text *šà-be-ip*, instead of **šà-nu-ip*. This amendment is quite admissible if we take into consideration that the form *šabep* corresponding to the OP *āhan* "they were" does not yield to interpretation, and that the signs BE and NU looked alike.

75 The use of the inanimate pronoun *appa* might be explained by the fact that by *taššup* inanimate "troops" and not "warriors" were meant. There are, however, some examples (*nap da*[*ip ap*]*pa*, *nap appa daibbe* "other gods", DB §§ 62, 73) attesting that in this construction the relative pronouns were used irrespective of the class of the determined substantive.

4.2. *Indefinite pronouns*
The pronoun *akka* coupled with the class marker *-r(i/a)* (*akkari/a*) functioned as the indefinite pronoun "someone":
sunkip urpuppa akkara upat aktippa inri huttanra u huhtah "since none of the former kings had made glazed bricks, I made (them)", EKI 17 II;
ruhirra[76] *inna šarir-ni* [*akkari inni*] *parsirra*[76] *inni mada . . . akka Kammadda maguš sunkime eme dušda* "no one (lit.: man) existed indeed.(*-ni*), neither a Persian, nor a Median . . . who could take the kingship from Gaumata the Magian", DB §13.
The form *aški* (lit.: "one part") is attested in the meaning of an indefinite pronoun in NE and AE:
meni taššup appa unina aški inni huddaš. . . "then my troops did nothing . . . ", DB §25;
akkari aški Kammadda maguš tubaka inni lilmak "nobody said anything concerning Gaumata the Magian", DB §13.
From the examples cited above it is evident that single negation was peculiar to Elamite and no special negative pronouns were known.

4.3. *Interrogative pronouns*
In AE the interrogative pronoun *appa*, perhaps, "what?, which?", coupled with *hamak* is attested:
appa hamak daiauš hube appa Dariiamauš sunkir marrišta "which are the countries which Darius the king conquered?", DNa §4.
Though the pronoun "who?" is not attested, it was, probably, *akka*[77].

5. *GENERALIZING AND EMPHATIC PRONOUNS*

kappatna, var. *kapp(a/i)tinna* "all, whole" (probably, from the verb *kappa-* "to assemble"[78]), is attested in AE with the substantive *bel* "year".
marrida "all, every, any", pl. *marbebda*[79]:
hube appa huttukka hube marrida zaumin Uramazdana hudda "this (things) which are done, all this I did by Ahuramazda's will", DNa §5;
šip uninama rabbaka marrik taššup marbebda ir šiiaš "at my gates he was seized, bound up (in the text: bound up and seized) and all the warriors saw him", DB §33; *meni taššup marrida Kanbušiiaikkimar beptibba hupirrikki pariš* "then all the people revolted against Cambyses and went to him (Gaumata)", *ibid.*, §11;
Uramazda Anahidda udda (=OP utā "and") *Mišša u un nuškišni mišnakka marte-mamar* "may Ahuramazda, Anahidda and Mithra protect me from any evil", A^2Sa 5.
da(e) "other", *daip(pe)* "others"[80].

76 These are actually adjectival forms (cf. IV.1c).

77 According to McAlpin (*PEDEI*, 142), the pronouns *akka* and *appa* go back to the PED interrogative base **iah* "who, what".

78 Cf. R. Hallock, *PFT*, 709.

79 On the forms *marrida* and *marbebda* cf. n. 62.

80 According to Hinz (*EW*, 246-248), *-e* here is the 3p. sg. possessive pronoun: *da-e* "his other", *daip* "others ", *daippe* "his others".

u taššup katema zikkida kudda parsin ak kudda madabe ak kudda daiauš appa dae marrida "I put the people and the Persians, and the Medians, and all other peoples in (their) place", DB §14;
Uramazda nap harriianam pikti u daš ak [*nap*] *da*[*ip ap*]*pa šarina* "Ahuramazda, the god of the Aryans, gave me help, as well as (lit.: and) all the other gods that exist", *ibid.*, §62.
This pronoun is also attested with the suffixes *-da/te* and *-ki*[81], the former could also be added to the forms with *-ki*:
bal 5 *daki hatuma* "during (lit.: in) the next (lit.: other) 5 years", PF 10198:3;
PAP hi daki-mamar tingika "all this is sent from another (place)", *ibid.*, 1963:31;
PAP hi ŠE.BAR.lg . . . *daki-ma kutka* "all this grain was carried away into another (place)", *ibid.*, 1941:21;
iršeki daete šišnina huttuk Barša hima "many other beautiful (things) were done in (this) Persia", XPa 12;
zaumin Uramazdana dakida unina iršekki [*hut*]*tuk* "by Ahuramazda's will many other things were done by me", DB §58.
The same base in a slightly modified form (*tiia*) is attested in ME:
akka hutunra akka humaš ak hal i tiia r(a)-temmenra[82] "who(ever) breaks the stele, who, having taken (it), carries/sends it (*i*) to another country", EKI 50 II.
unra, unrana "every" (AE):
84 *hh.LU*$_2$.lg *unra* d.*ITU*.lg-*tanna* 3 *pansukaš KU*$_3$*.BABBAR*.lg *dumanba* "84 persons receive 3 shekels of silver monthly (lit.: every month), PT 12:15.
lurika "each":
UDU.NITA$_2$.lg *lurika* 20 *ŠE.BAR*.lg *ha liqa* "for each sheep, for it (*ha*) 20 (measures) of grain is apportioned", PF 367:10.
Coupled with *unra* :
kušukum lurika unra 1 *marriš* " for each *kušukum* one marriš (of beer)", PF 770:12;
hisu (*da*//*te*) "he himself":
hisu 1 *QA tan makiš* "he himself consumed one and a half *QA*", PF 1353:4;
Barnaqqa hisuda 18 *BAN*$_2$.lg *dumaqa* "18 *BAN*$_2$ were/are taken by Barnaqqa personally/ himself", PFa 4:13.

6. *REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS*

The function of reflexive pronouns in Elamite was fulfilled by the lexeme *du*(*h*)-, attested both in ME and AE.

6.1. Coupled with the possessive pronouns *-e*, *-pi*/*e-e* and (*ap*)*pini* (cf. VI.3), *du*(*h*)- expressed the reflexive possessive pronouns "his (own)", "their (own)":

81 R. Hallock interprets it as *ki* "one " (*PFT*, 679).

82 *ra*, preceding *temmenra* has, probably, nothing to do with *tiia*, which datermines the inanimate noun *hal*. It is rather the subjective resumptive pronoun which usually stood before the verbs of the I and II conjugations. As to *i*, it might be the objective resumptive pronoun, which stands, however, not in its usual place, but is wedged in between the determined noun and its attribute, or maybe we deal here with *hal-i*, pronounced [*halə*].

akka melkan sukunra ak hiš duh-e aha r-tatallunra "who(ever) destroys (and) erases and writes here his own name", EKI 45 §13;
gal du-e nasirna 2 *QA dumanra* "he receives his daily ration of 2 *QA*", PF 1251:3;
meni Kanbuṣiia halpi duhe-ma halpik "then Cambyses died in his bed (lit.: in his own death)", DB §11;
*GUD.*lg *du appini-ma nutiqa* "(grain) for their own property[83] is set aside", Fort. 89910:31;
*GUD.*lg *dupema nutuqqa* "(grain) for their (own) property is set aside", PF 1955:3.
The possessive reflexive pronouns cited above include the 3 p. possessive pronouns and are used in sentences with the 3p. subject. Possibly, the reflexive pronouns used with the 1 and 2p. subjects included the 1 and 2p. possessive pronouns respectively. Perhaps, the 1p. reflexive pronoun is attested in EKI 28A §12, unfortunately, in an unclear context: *ak* (*AŠ*) *Attu*[- . . .] *duhume* (*duh-u-me*?) *hutlanka* "as I sent my (own) . . . to Attu . . . (?)".

6.2.1. The form *duh*, without a possessive pronoun, had the meaning "himself" and denoted the subject or the indirect object:
akka duš duh (*i*)*r-manri duš ligawe* (*i*)*r-hišanri* . . . "who(ever), having taken, appropriates it (lit.: makes his own), having taken, abandons (Grillot)/forgets (Hinz) the kingdom", EKI 70C IV.

6.2.2. This pronoun had a special objective form in *-n*:
[*titkimme*]*mar* . . . *dun nušgiš* "beware of (lit.: protect yourself from) lie", DB §55;
*LU*2.lg-*irra akka ulhi uninama dun parrušda* "the man, who tried (lit.: troubled himself for my home('s sake))", *ibid.*, §63.

6.3.The pronoun *du*(*h*)- probably originated from the verb *du*(*h*)- "to take (into possession), to appropriate"[84]. It is the more probable as, alongside *duh-e*, the IIIm infinitive form of this verb (*duman-e)* is attested in the same meaning:
kudda Parsin kudda Madabe kudda daiauš appa dae hupirri eme duša duman-e huttaš "he took from him (and) appropriated (lit.: made his own and) Persia, and Media and other countries", *ibid.*, §12.

Thus, the reflexive pronoun in Elamite developed from the lexeme "own", which, in its turn, went back to the verb "to take (into possession), to appropriate".

83 H. Koch, *ZA* 70, 1980, 130.

84 Cf. R.T. Hallock, *PFT*, 682. According to McAlpin (*PEDEI*, 115), this pronoun, as well as the 1 p. sg. possessive *-ta* (cf. VI.3.2) and the element *-ta*/*inna* (*ITU-tinna* "monthly") originate from the PED anaphoric pronoun **ta*(*n*), which is not convincing.

CHAPTER VII

VERB

The Elamite verb had the following categories: number (singular : plural), person, aspect/tense, mood and voice (active : passive).

1. *ASPECT*

1.1. The verb in Elamite had two aspects (or tenses): perfective (past), with two forms depending on the transitivity : intransitivity of the verb, and imperfective (non-past), expressing the present and future tenses, as well as oblique moods.
Examples:
Past transitive:
kukunnum sunkip uripupe imme kušihša u kuših "I built the *kukunnum* which the former kings did not build", EKI 13A IV;
Uramazda pikti u daš "Ahuramazda helped me", DB, passim.
Past intransitive:
kuš u Babili šanu-k-ut "while I was in Babylon", DB §21;
meni Mitarna . . . Madabekki šak "then Mitarna set out to Media", *ibid.*, §25.
Non-past:
sijan Inšušinakme aha n-kušinki- . . . "I will build here . . . the temple of Inšušinak", EKI 43 III;
u Šattarida par Makištarrana nimanki "I am Šattarida from the family of Makištarra", DB §24;
Inšušinak napiruri u r-tahhanra "as Inšušinak, my god, helped me", EKI 20 III;
akka ṣalmumume humanra akka hutunra "who(ever) takes my statue, who(ever) breaks (it)", *ibid.*, 16 III;
betip . . . šinnup šaparakumme huttinun(u)pa "the rebels went . . . in order to make a battle", DB §§ 26, 27, 28.
Thus, Elamite had three types of conjugation (or, merely, conjugations, according to Hallock[85]).
According to F. Grillot-Susini[86], there was another conjugation (IV), formed by adding the classifiers *-r* and *-p* to the verbal base. This form corresponds to the animate substantives formed on the base of the present participle in our interpretation (cf. VII.9a). This form, however, should not be set in the same range with the forms of the I, II and III conjugations, because it was never used with the verbal suffix *-ma-* (cf. VII.2.1).

85 R.T. Hallock, *JNES* 18, 1959, 1-19.

86 F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 35.

1.2. The transitive verbs in the past tense belonged to the I conjugation. This conjugation was formed by adding personal subject endings to the verbal stem (cf. Table I). The object was not reflected in the verbal form. It was expressed by

a) a noun:
ṣalmu Manišduzzume humah ak hal Haltamte tengih "I took the statue of Maništusu and sent (it) to Elam", EKI 24b;

b) a pronoun:
Napiriša un haniš un hahpuš "Napiriša loved me (and) heard me", *ibid.*, 4c III;

c) both a noun and a pronoun:
siian . . . kuših Išnikarap Siiankukra in dunih "I built . . . a temple and gave it to Išnikarap of Siiankuk", *ibid.*, 6e II-III;
Pelala lansitirra ir šarih "the golden statue of Pelala I cast-it", *ibid.*, 10b IV.

Table I

	Singular		Plural	
	ME	AE	ME	AE
1p.	*-h*[1]	*-Ø*[2]	*-hu(<h-hu?)*[3]	*-u*[2]
2p.	*-t*	*-t*	*-ht*[3]	*-t*
3p.	*š*	*š*	*-hš*[3]	*-š*[2]

[1] If Hinz's interpretation of the forms in -LI ([*hutt*]*i*LI, *m*[*as*]*i*LI, *lugi*LI) in EKI 2 as the 1p. optatives/precatives is correct, this ending was not written out in OE.

[2] As a result of the loss of the phoneme *h* in NE and AE.

[3] Evidently, the plural endings consisted of the pluralizer (*-h-*) preceding the corresponding singular endings.

1.3. The intransitive and detranzitivized verbs (i. e. those in the passive voice, cf. VII.5) belonged to the II conjugation:
hami Pirrumartiš hupirri šinnuk "that (very) Pirrumartiš came there", DB §31;
sunkir akka merurra . . . hišumi aha talluka tak sarraš siianma tašni "may the future king renew . . . my name (which is) written and placed here (and) put (it) in the temple", EKI 42 VIII-IX.

1.4. The verbs of the non-past tense belonged to the III conjugation, irrespective of transitivity/intransitivity (for examples cf. VII.1.1).

1.5. Conjugations II and III were formed by adding personal class markers to the participial bases in *-k* (conj. II) and in *-n* (conj.III):

1p. sg. (locutive)	*-ki*
2p. sg. (allocutive)	*-t(i/a)*
3p. sg. (delocutive)	*-ra* (conj.III), - Ø (conj.II)
3p. pl. (delocutive)	*-p*

The conjugation II and III forms were usually preceded by the elements (V)*n* in locutive and allocutive and (V)*r* in delocutive, fulfilling the function of resumptive pronouns and reflecting the person of the subject:
sap Madabekki n-parukit (<**paru-k-k-it*) "when I came to Media", DB §31 (conj. II, locutive);
(*i*)*n-kali-k-ti*, meaning unknown, EKI 28A §9 (conj. II, allocutive);
hi ṣila appi r-titukka "thus he deceived them" (conj. II, delocutive);
ṣalmu . . . ingi n-dunu-n-k(*u*)- . . . "I will not give the statue . . . ", EKI 74 §40 (conj. III, locutive);
nu u n-tahhanta "as you helped me/you having helped me", *ibid.*, 28A §21 (conj. III, allocutive);
Inšušinak . . . u r-tahhanra . . . "since Inšušinak . . . helped me . . . ", *ibid.*, 20 III (conj. III, delocutive).
When used with the verbs of the I conjugation, these elements denoted the object of the sentence (cf. VI.1.2, VI.2.3).

Table II

	Conjugation II	Conjugation III
1p. sg.	*šinnukit* (<**šinnu-k-k* +*-it*)	*na-n-ki*
2p. sg.	*katu-k-ta*	*hutta-n-ti*
3p. sg.	*hutta-k-Ø*[1]	*hutta-n-ra*
3p. pl.	*šinnup (= šinnu-p)* [2]	*turnampi* (<**turna-n-pi*)

1 The absence of the animate/active class marker *-r* in this form, perhaps, is to be explained as a survival of the active period of the language (cf. below, Appendix): the II conjugation probably originated from the inactive/stative (not intransitive) conjugation. And as in active languages inactive verbs are not usually correlated with active subjects, the animate/active class marker *-r* could not be combined with inactive/stative verbs. However, this is not but a trace of the active type, for in the first and second persons the locutive and allocutive markers (which are also active) are present.

2 The absence of *-k-* in this form may be explained by the fact that in languages of active typology the inactive substantives are indifferent to number and, hence, the verbs of state (i.e. inactive verbs) had no plural affixes. That is why the form **-k-p* was not possible in the active period of Elamite and the delocutive plural form of the II conjugation was to be borrowed from another system, namely from that of the present active participle (cf. VII.9).

2. *MODE OF ACTION*

2.1. Elamite had a special marker *-ma-*, denoting durative action, according to Labat[87] and intensive or repeated action, according to Hallock[88].
According to Labat[89] and Grillot[90], *-ma-* goes back to an auxiliary. This hypothesis is proved by the presence of the classifier *-r-* or the participial endings *-k* and *-n-* before this suffix: *pepširmah, sahtirmah, kitirmah, miširmak, zukkirmani, peranmanka, balikmanki.* Grillot ascribes this suffix a modal meaning and translates it "to want, will". This interpretation of *-ma-* does not seem convincing, however.
McAlpin traces *-ma-* back to PED **man-* "to become", which was widespread in the Central and North Dravidian languages as an auxiliary and points out the relation of the iterative and durative semantics with that of the verb "to become"[91].
As to the verbal forms with *-r-ma-*, they are, evidently, more archaic, than those without *-r-*. The meaning of the verbs where these suffixes are attested is not clear. More or less definitely we may speak of the verbs *pepširmah* and *miširmak*, "I renovated" and "it became old" respectively. In both forms the notion of the change of state is obvious.

2.2.The verbal suffix *-nu-* is often considered in the same range with *-ma-*[92].
According to Grillot-Susini, this suffix originated from a modal verb, possibly "can"[93]. Hallock's viewpoint concerning this suffix is quite different and seems to be closer to the truth. He interprets the ending *-nun* in AE forms *huttinun* and *tirimanun* as that of the 1p.pl. of conjugation III (**-n-un*), comparing it with the ending *-n-p* in the 3p. pl. forms of the same conjugation[94]. McAlpin follows Hallock's interpretation of *-nun*[95], not denying the existence of the suffix *-nu-*, though[96].
The ME plural forms *turununk(i)* and *hinunk-a*, alongside the singular forms *turunka* and *henka*, confirm the correctness of Hallock's interpretation of the forms in *-nun* as plural ones:
u ak Nahhunte-Utu turununk(i) "I and Nahhunte-Utu, (we) say", EKI 54 §20;
u Untaš-Napiriša . . . Nahhunte kulanka kula u r-tumpanra ak turunka huttanra "I, Untaš-Napiriša, (when) I implore Nahhunte, he listens to my prayer (lit.: to the prayer, to me) and (when) I say (something) he does (it)", *ibid.*, 10a II;
takmeume takme Nahhunte-Utume takme puhunikamime ak kuš huhun nikame hinuka (var. *hinunka*) *intikka* "for my life's sake, for (the sake of) Nahhunte-Utu's life, our children's life and our future descendants (which) we are going to have", *ibid.*, 41A III;
takkimeume takkime puhumena ak takkime kuš henka intikka "for my life's sake, for the sake of my children's life and the life of my future descendants (which) I am going to have", *ibid.*, 33 III;

87 R. Labat, *Structure*, 36.
88 R.T. Hallock, *JNES* 18, 1959, 18.
89 R. Labat, *Structure*, 37.
90 F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 36.
91 D. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 121-122.
92 I.M. Diakonoff, *Elamskij*, 102; E. Reiner, *EL*, 79.
93 F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 36.
94 R.T. Hallock, *JNES* 18, 1959, 18.
95 D. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 75.
96 D. McAlpin, *ibid.*, 79.

ingi henka intikka "so as I may not have", *ibid.*, 11Aa V etc.;
ani henki "may I not have", *ibid.*, 45 §6;
puhue ani hinu (<**hinun*) "may her children not have", *ibid.*, 40 III.
From the examples cited above it is evident that the locutive classifier *-k*, present in ME plural forms was no longer used in AE.
Thus, Reiner's interpretation of *tirimanun* "we are called" as **tirimanu-n-p*[97] is not convincing, or, at least, **tirimanu-n-p* was a later form in comparison with **tirimanunk* (in AE the locutive class marker gave place to the delocutive one). From the fact that the personal classifiers were usually placed immediately after the participial markers *-k* and *-n* we may conclude that the plural marker in these forms was *-nu-*.
The same suffix *-nu-* is present in the AE form *huttinun-(h)uba*, considered unanalyzable by Labat[98].
According to Hinz, this form consists of the 1p. pl. form *huttinun* and the particle *(h)uba*, perhaps, closing the direct speech with the verb in the 1p. pl.[99] Hallock considered it a quotational correlative of the 3p. pl.[100]. Later, however, he ascribed *huba* cohortative meaning and translated *hutinun(h)uba* as "may we make"[101].
Based on the fact that it was translated "in order to make (battle)" in the Akkadian and Old Persian versions, Paper called this form purposive, without, however, analyzing it[102].
Reiner interprets this form as 1p. pl.[103]. It is more likely, however, that it is a conjugation III 3p. pl. form, for in similar contexts with a singular subject we have the III conjugation 3p. sg. form *huttimanra*:
hami Pirrumartiš hupirri šinnuk akka nanri u sunkime madabena huddamara šaparakumme huttimanra "there came that (very) Pirrumartiš, who said: I reign over the Medians, in order to make battle", DB §31.
It is not, however, easy to explain the spelling *-hu-ú-u-*. Moreover, alongside this form, 3 p. pl. forms in *-n-ba* are attested, cf. *huttanra* (sg.) : *huttanba* (pl.), *tirimanra* : *tirimanba.*

3. *MOOD*

Elamite had the following moods: indicative, imperative, optative/cohortative and prohibitive. Some modal meanings were expressed by conjugation III forms.
Examples:
hami Pirrumartiš hupirri šinnuk šaparakumme huttimanra "there came that (very) Pirrumartiš in order to make battle", DB §31;
akka ṣalmumume humanra akka hutunra akka tuppime melkanra akka hišume sukunra "who takes my statue, who breaks (it), who spoils the inscription, who erases my name", EKI 16 III;
anka šarak elmanda "if now you think", DNa §4.

97 E. Reiner, *EL*, 80.
98 R. Labat, *Structure*, 40.
99 W. Hinz, H. Koch, *EW*, 676.
100 R.T. Hallock, *JAOS* 76, 1956, 44, n.12.
101 R.T. Hallock, *JNES* 18, 1959, 16.
102 H.H. Paper, *PMRAE*, 57.
103 E. Reiner, *EL*, 80.

3.1. *Imperative*

In OE and ME imperative had no special forms and was expressed by the 2p. forms:
hapti Binikir Baha kikip Huban . . . "listen, Binikir, Baha of the heaven, Huban . . . ", EKI 2 §1;
nu u tenti . . . *kulakṇikame hapti* "as you are gracious to me, . . . listen to our prayer", *ibid.*, 54 §7.
In AE it was expressed either by the pure base or by a form in *-š*:
mida taššup appa betip unina inni tirimanpi hupibe halpiš "go (and) beat the troops which are hostile to me (and) do not call themselves mine", DB §26[104].
It is to be noted that the pure base was used to express the imperative of the intransitive verb *mite/a-*, whereas the ending *-š* was used with transitive verbs and with the same intransitive verb *mite/a-* "to go".
There is not enough evidence for any conclusions. It is possible that in the dialect from which AE developed, the imperative of transitive and intransitive verbs was formed differently (*-š* with the former in contrast to the pure base with the latter). Later on, owing to the weakening of the transitive : intransitive contrast, which resulted from the nominativizing tendency in Elamite, the marker *-š* was used with the intransitive verbs as well as the transitive ones.

3.2. Optative/cohortative was formed by adding the particles *-ni -na*, -LI to the forms of the I and II conjugations (cf. X.3).

3.3. Prohibitive was expressed by means of the prohibitive particle *ani/u*, added to the III and, occasionally, I conjugation forms (cf. X.2).

4. *TENSE*

There were no special temporal forms in Elamite. The past tense was expressed by perfective forms, whereas the present and future by the imperfective ones. According to Hinz and Grillot, the verbs ending in the particle *-t(i/a)* expressed the pluperfect tense (cf. X.6).

5. *VOICE*

Elamite had two voices: active and passive. The voice diathesis was only manifest in the past tense. The active transitive verb was opposed to the detransitivized (passive) verb (cf. VII.1.3).

6. *VERBS OF BEING*

There were two verbs of being in Elamite. Alongside the class markers (cf. II.1.2), these verbs were sometimes used to link the subject with the predicative, i.e. they functioned

104 In a similar context in DB §25 we have *miteš*.

as copulae. There were some irregularities in their conjugation as compared with other verbs.

6.1. *ni(ma)*- was mostly attested in NE and AE and occasionally in ME.
Examples:
ninda (2p. sg., conj. II):
irdama ninda "you will be blessed", XPh 4d:4.
nin (3p. sg., conj. III):
UN.lg *aššurabena aha nin* "the Assyrians (lit.: the people of the Assyrians) will be here", Omen 2.
kušik-e hallina ani aha nin "may (who is) born by her (lit.: her born) . . . not be here/not be alive", EKI 45 §21.
nimanki (1p. sg., conj. III):
hiš ape erentum talluhšitama aha nimanki "I shall make their names, which they had written on bricks", be here, EKI 42 VI;
nanri u Šattarida Makištarrana nimanki-mara "he said: I am Šattarida from Makištarra's family", DB §24.
nimak (3p. sg., conj. II):
d.*ITU*.lg 1-*na* 58 *ŠE.BAR*.lg *nimak* "there are[105] 58 *BAR* of grain for 1 month", PF 848:19;
. . . *hube kudda qatukra šadda nimak kudda halpikra irdama nimak*" . . . he will be happy (when) alive and will be blissful (when) dead", XPh 4d:46.
niman (participle III form):
hi zila ap tiriš sunkime u hudda par Makištarrana niman-mara "thus he spoke to them: I reign, being from Makiš tarra's family", DB §33.
nim(m)a (impersonal form, used predicatively)[106]
tumpa šudur Napirišame ak Inšušinakme aha nimma "*tumpa* and *šudur* of Napiriša and Inšušinak are here", EKI 13B VIII.

6.2. *šar-/šan-*
šanukit (<*šanuk-k-it*, 1p.sg., conj.II):
kuš u Babili šanukit appi daḫauš u ir bebtip "while I was in Babylon, these countries rebelled against me", DB §21.
[*ša*]*nikti* (2p. sg., conj. II):
nu . . . akka meššin [*ša*]*nikti* "you . . . who will be (see note 105) in the future", DB §55.
šanu(!)*p*[107] (3p. pl., conj. II):
akkabe sunkip irpippi kuš šanu(!)*p* "while the former kings lived (lit.: were)", DB §59.
šari (impersonal form, used predicatively):
LU$_2$.lg-*irra inna šari* "there was no one (lit.: no man"), DB §13;
taššup . . . harikki šari "the troops were small", *ibid.*, §25.
šarina (perhaps, participle III form coupled with the particle *-a*, cf. X.5):
nap daip appa šarina "other gods which exist", DB §62.
šarir (participle I form, N.B.: the verb of being in the form of an active/transitive participle):

105 The conjugation II (past tense) form is used in the non-past meaning.

106 Hinz's and Koch's interpretation of this form as locative ("im Stein", *EW*, 999) is not convincing.

107 See note 74.

Mišdašba u addada Partumaš šarir hupirri taššup ir martemašša beptip "when Mišdašba, my father, was (lit.: being) in Parthia, the troops quitted him and revolted", DB §35.
The alternation *šari-//šanu/i-*[108] is to be explained by the probably non-trilled, alveolar character of *r* in this word, cf. I.2.4.2a.
The use of the verbs of being as link verbs, instead of personal classifiers, in AE was due to the nominativizing tendency in Elamite[109].

7. *AUXILIARY VERB tarma-*

This verb, attested in AE, usually stands in the same form as the main verb and joins it by means of the element *-a*.
As was shown by Steiner[110], the syntagma V-*a tarma-* expressed completeness of action, intensive resultative. In conjugation I this syntagma corresponded to the OP transitive construction with the passive participle in *-tam* and the verb "to do" (*kar-*); in conjugation II it was rendered by the intransitive construction V-*tam bav-* ("to be"):
hube appa huttukka hube marrida zaumin Uramazdana hudda Uramazda pikti u daš kuš hudda tarma "(this,) what is done, I did all this by Ahuramazda's favour/will, Ahuramazda helped me until I accomplished it (lit.: I did and I completed = OP *kartam akunavam*)," DNa §5;
60 *ŠE.BAR . . . Zamašba duš . . . Baršan kuzda* (<**kutišda*) *halmarišikka hapindanuš bel kapatinna . . . kutka tarmakni* "Zamašba took 60 *BAR* of grain and took/carried it to Persepolis for the fortress as a *hapindanuš* (tax) for the whole year . . . may it be completely taken (lit.: taken (and) completed"), PF 1593: 4-16;
sap murun mazzika tarmak (DSf §5) "when the earth is completely removed" = OP *katam abava* (DSf §3e).
That *tarma* in this syntagma was an auxiliary, as Steiner thinks, is evident from the very form *ta-r-ma-* (with the personal classifier *-r-* preceding *-ma-*), going back to an earlier period, for in AE the classifier *-r* was not used before *-ma*.

8. *ANOMALOUS VERBS*

Besides the verbs *ni(ma)-* and *šar/n-* (cf. VII.6), there were some others, which revealed certain anomalies.

8.1. *pari-* "1) to come, to reach; 2) to go, to start, to set out".
This verb had the conjugation I form, when used in the meaning "to come, to reach", and that of conjugation II in the meaning "to start, to set out":
meni u Babili pariia "then I came to Babylon" (conj. I), DB §19;
sap taššup hupibe Mišdašbaikki r-parip "when these troops set out to Mišdašba" (conj. II), *ibid.*, §35.

108 *-nu-* is not the plural suffix here, which follows from the singular forms *šanukit* and *šanikti*.

109 Cf. the similar use of the verb of being *man-* in Urartian.

110 G. Steiner, *MSS* 41, 1982, 179-198.

8.2. *ki/anni-* "to approach, to arrive, to befriend".
This verb, like *pari-*, was used both in conjugation I in the meaning "to approach, to arrive", and in conjugation II in the meaning "to befriend":
Uramazda nun kanišni "may Ahuramazda befriend you" (conj. I), DB §60;
kurtaš turmiriiap Tirazišmar kinnuka "the Turmirian workers arrived from Shiraz (conj. II), PF 860:4.
This fact is, perhaps, caused by the tendency to unify the conjugation in the past tense, irrespective of the transitivity : intransitivity of the verb and, hence, by further weakening of the opposition ergative : absolutive.
Thus, the use of different conjugations with these verbs had a distinctive function.

8.3. *tiri-* "1) to speak, to say; 2) to be called, to call oneself".
This verb, on the contrary, was conjugated transitively in both transitive and intransitive (reflexive) meanings:
hi zila ap tiriš "thus he spoke to them", DB §22;
Martiia hupirri akka iršarra appini . . . tirišti "that (very) Martiia, which called himself their chief", ibid, §23.
From these examples it follows that the category of reflexive verbs (medio-passive voice) was not known in Elamite, and neither was the reflexive pronoun used to express the reflexive meaning.
The use of this verb both in the transitive and intransitive (reflexive) meanings may be compared with the similar use of such English verbs as "to wash", "to dress","to shave" etc.

8.4. Verbum sentiendi *ipši-* "to be afraid"
This verb is conjugated both ergatively and absolutively:
taššup sillaka ir ipšiš "the troops feared him greatly" (erg.), DB §13;
meni haltamtip u-ikki-mar ipšip "then the Elamites were afraid of me" (abs.), *ibid.*, §23.
Such a variation in the treatment of this verb occurs in other developed nominative languages, too, cf. "to fear" and "to be afraid", "fürchten" and "sich fürchten", and is to be explained by the nature of *verba sentiendi.*

9. *VERBAL ADJECTIVES (PARTICIPLES)*

The verbal adjectives (participles) in Elamite were the following:

a) present active/transitive (participle I), coinciding with the pure base:
nuški- "keeping, guarding", *kuti-* "carrying", *kazi-* "forging";
b) past passive and intransitive (participle II), formed by adding *-k* to the verbal base:
halpik(-) "killed", *tak*(-) "placed, put", *šinuk*(-) "gone", *huttuk*(-) "done".
The II conjugation (intransitive, passive) was built on the base of this participle (cf. VII.1.5).
Coupled with the derivational suffixes *-r*(*a*) and *-p* , participles I and II functioned as animated substantives:
kapnuškir "treasury keeper", *GEŠTIN kutira* "cup bearer", *KU*$_3$*.GI /KU*$_3$*.BABBAR kazira* "gold-/silversmith", *lipte kutira* "archer (lit.: bow bearer)", *katukra* "live /living (person)", *halpikra* "dead/killed (person)", *ištukra* "weak (person)", *ibbakra* "strong (person)", cf. also substantivized inanimate participles *huttak* "made (object)", *halik* "ornated (object)".
c) present/future active (both transitive and intransitive), or participle III, built by adding *-n* to the verbal base.

This participle formed the base of the III conjugation (cf. VII.1.5). Unlike a) and b), it was not used substantively.

10. *VERBAL NOUN, SUPINE*

Both the verbal noun (gerund/infinitive) and the supine were formed by adding *-n(a)* to the verbal base:
*u šera h.DUB.*lg *tallimana* "I ordered to write an inscription", XV §3;
hi zalman harrina appa Dariyamauš sunkir šerašda huddamana "here is the statue *harrina*, which Darius the king ordered to make", DSab 2;
appa elma huddan "what I intended to do", DSj 3;
Inšušnak napiruri u r-tahhanra kukunnum pittena "as Inšušnak, my god, ordered me to enclose the *kukunnum* ", EKI 72 III.

CHAPTER VIII

ADVERBS

In Elamite the following groups of adverbs may be distinguished according to their formation:

a) pure base, without derivational elements, sometimes coupled with the particle *-da*:
kuš "until", *šutur* "properly, right", *tibbe/a* "forward", *am(-da)* "in the present", *pir* "together, in addition/additionally", *zila* "so, thus", *šašša-da* "before", *meša* "later";
b) forms with classifiers, sometimes coupled with *-a*, *-na* or *-da* :
kidu-mm-a "(from) without", *pitu-mm-a* "from within", *ukku-mi-na* "up", *pat-mi-na* "down", *aha-r/n* "here", *sude-t* (OE), *šut-me* (ME), *šit-ma-na* (AE) "at night", *sade-t* (OE), *sat-me* (ME) "in the daytime", *da-me* "before", *appuki-me* "earlier, before", *ha-me-r(-da)*[111] "then, at that time", *hupi-me-r-da* "then, at that time, after that", *innakka-na* "so, thus", *meni* "then", *me-mi* "afterwards", *mešši-n* "later, in the future", *na-ma-na* "in the daytime", *na-ra(n)-da*, *na-ra(n)-ta*, *na-r-da* "every day";
c) reduced forms, having lost the classifying elements:
šara "down", *ah(a)* "here";
d) forms, deriving from passive participles: *silla-k-a* "strongly", *(hi) nubbak* "that much, in accordance with", *appu-k-a* "before", perhaps, *šara-k* "now";
e) forms with the suffix *-kki*:
irše-kki "many, much", *in-akka* "actually", *dae-kki* "differently";
f) forms with spatial case markers:
hube-ma "there", *hube-mamar* "from there", *hi-ma* "here";
g) compound forms, often unanalyzable:
mešamerašae "later", *šaššada karadalari* "since long ago", *piršadanika hate* "far away", *sap appanka appukada* "as before" etc.

111 *-me-* here is a suffix, not a class marker.

CHAPTER IX

PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

1. Elamite had no prepositions (or postpositions) proper, but spatial words, originating from

a) nouns:
 (h)ati "in, within"
 em-"from"
 ir-(?)"against"
 me- "after"
 pat- "under" < "foot"
 si- "before"
 šara- "under" < "depth(?), bottom(?)"
 tur- "for, for one's sake" < "hearth, inside"
 ukku- "on, above" < "head"

b) verbs:
 kan- "near" < *kan-* "to approach"
 li- "for, for one's sake" < *li-* "to give" (?)
 tikka/tukki(-) "for one's sake" < *tuk-* "to wish(?)"

c) participles:
 (i)daka "with" < past participle of the verb *da-* "to put"
 kika "back, from"
 lakka "on the other side" < past participle of the verb *la-* "to pass"
 tubaka "about, concerning"

These spatial words formed specific postpositional (sometimes prepositional) constructions. Examples:

a) The subordinate word is a substantive:

I. *sunkir pitir ak tarir akka melkanra . . . Nahhunte ir*[112] *šara-ra par ani kutun* "the king, hostile or friendly, who destroys . . . , let his progeny not sprout under the Sun", EKI 9 IIIb VII . . . X;

II. *sa-e Nahhunte ak Napir šara-ma massikni* "let his step cease (be cut off) under the Sun and the Moon", *ibid.*, 76 §38;

III. *akka melkan ak sukunra ak hiš duhe ahar tatallunra Inšušinak ir si-ra ani uzzun* "whoever destroys and erases and writes down his (own) name, let him not walk before Inšušinak", *ibid.*, 45 §13-14;

IV. *ṣalmu . . . aha humah ak hal Hatamti tengih Inšušinak napiruri i si-ma tah* "I took here the statue, and sent (it) to Elam (and) put (it) before Inšušinak, my god", *ibid.*, 24c III-IV;

V. *akka pulunri kik muru ati-ra*[113] *hiš ani kutun* "whoever destroys (it), let (his) name not sprout in the heaven (and) on the earth", *ibid.*, 44a V;

112 Here and in the following sentences the subject of the sentence and the corresponding resumptive pronoun are underlined.

113 In examples II and V the resumptive (anaphoric) pronoun corresponding to *akka* is omitted.

VI.. *akka ṣalmume milkaša hiše araš pittinra . . . murun ri ukku-ra pittuka.*"(whoever) destroys my image, puts . . . his (own) name, being lost on the earth (let him not walk under the Sun)", *ibid.*, 75 §33;

VII. *kitin . . . ṣalmume n(u) ukku-na tak-ni* "may *kitin* (magic protective charms, according to Hinz) . . . be put over my image", *ibid.*, 75 §29;

VIII. *gulir*[114] *NarāmSîn* [*ir*] *me-ri . . .* "*gulir* after NarāmSîn . . . " (the context is unclear), *ibid.*, 2 §11;

IX. *huttak halikume* DN *u/il/n*[115] *lina telakni* "let be protected[116] what is done (and) ornated by me for the sake of DN", *ibid.* passim;

X. *takmeume takkime Nahhunteutu rutu hanikurime in tikka*[117] "for the sake of my life (and) the life of Nahhunteutu, my beloved wife", *ibid.*, 44c III;

XI. *u hamer Haltamti in kanna*[118] *šanukit* "then I was near to Elam", DB §23.

b) The subordinate word is a personal pronoun:

XII. *akka . . . hat*[119] d.*GAL Inšušnak ak Kiririša Siiankukpa r(i) ukku-r i r-takni* "whoever . . . may the curse(?) of Napiriša, Inšušnak and Kiririša of Siiankuk fall (lit.: be put) upon him", EKI 9 IIIb IX;

XIII. *hih*[120] *Peltiia napir rišarra p(i) ukku-p i p-metkini* "may the *hih* of Beltiia, the great goddess, fall upon them", *ibid.*, 16 VI;

XIV. *petib . . . pat-p u*[121] *p-rabbakna* "let the enemies be bound at my feet", *ibid.*, 3 VIII;

XV. *sungir akka me-r-u-rra*[122] "the future king (lit.: the king that after me)", *ibid.*, 42 VIII;

XVI. *e Inšušinak napiruri huttak halikume/huttah halenka li-ma nu*[123] *telakni* "oh, Inšušnak, my god, may be protected what is done (and) ornated /what I did and ornated for you", *ibid.*, 29 VI, 30 VI etc.

XVII. *huttak halikume Napiriša ak Inšušnak Siiankuk-pa li-na num (u)n*[124]*-telakni* "o Napiriša and Inšušnak of Siiankuk, may be protected what is done for you by me", *ibid.*, 15 V;

114 After Hinz, *ZA* 58, 1967, 78.

115 As the alternation *u/i* is attested in similar contexts ("for DN's sake"), it must have expressed the vowel *i* rather than *u*.

116 This verb is interpreted differently by Hinz ("let be offered"), Reiner ("let be admitted"), Grillot ("let be agreeable). We follow König's interpretation.

117 This lexeme is interpreted as "for one's sake" by König, Stève, Scheil and as a verbal form "I wish" by Hüsing, Lambert, Hinz, cf. W. Hinz, H. Koch, *EW*, 762.

118 It is not clear whether this construction is to be interpreted as *in kan(i)-na*, cf. *in tukki-me*, or if it is more simplified: *in kanna*, cf. *in tikka*.

119 This substantive was considered active and belonged to the class of animates; Hinz and Koch trace it back to Akk. *haṭṭu* "sceptre", Reiner and Grillot interpret it as "terror".

120 From the fact that the resumptive pronoun corresponding to the substantive *hih* ("power", according to Grillot, something destructive and hostile, according to König) is plural, we may assume that it was considered active plural, irrespective of its meaning.

121 In EKI 54 §71 in a similar context we have *pat-p i p-*, which must be a scribal error.

122 *-rra*, like *akka*, is the marker of the attributive syntagma, adjectivizing the propositional construction *me-r u* " after me".

123 In examples XIV-XVIII the resumptive pronouns before *li-ma* and the verbal form are omitted.

124 In similar contexts *li-na ap (u)n-* (graph. *li-na-pu-un*) "for them", EKI 10B V, 13A VI, 13B VII, and *li-n(a) in-* (graph. *li-ni-en*) "for him", *ibid.*, 10A V, are attested.

XVIII. *Nutitbel . . . taššup idaqa ir-r(a) u r-šinnuk* (graph. *ir-ru ur*)[125] "Nidintu-Bêl . . . with (his) army set out against me", DB §19;
XIX. *petiruri ir*[126] *pat-r*[127] *u r-tatni* "throw my enemy under me", EKI 45 §71.
As it is evident from the examples cited above, the prepositional (postpositional) construction was a word combination of a noun (or pronoun) with a preposition which was in attributive link with the logical subject of the sentence.

I. Subject . . . substantive + resumptive (anaphoric) pronoun referring
|_parataxis_|
to the subject + postpositional spatial word (cf. examples a)
|_attributive link_|
II. Subject . . . anaphoric pronoun referring to the
subject + prepositional spatial word+personal pronoun[128] (cf. examples b)
|_attributive link_| |__parataxis__|

2. In the AE period these constructions became much simpler because of the weakening of their formation mechanism.

2.1. The attributive link of the spatial word with the subject gave place to simple parataxis[129]: *em-i, em-ap, ukku, ukk(u)-ap.*

125 It is not very easy to find the spatial word in *ir-ru-*: *r* standing immediately before the verb is a resumptive pronoun corresponding to the subject of the sentence (Nidintu-Bêl), *u* is the 1p. sg. pronoun. As is evident from the examples mentioned above, the spatial word usually follows the resumptive pronoun (*ir šara-ra, ir sira*). If, however, we consider *ir* a resumptive pronoun, the spatial word will turn out to be absent. Evidently, the spatial word here was *ir*, whereas the resumptive pronoun preceding it (another *ir*) was omitted (the use of resumptive pronouns before the spatial word was not obligatory, especially in AE, where *irrur* is attested). The same spatial word *ir* is, probably, present in *irma*: *betip pirru ir-šarabba Daturšiš ir-ma šinnup* "the rebels assembled and went against Dataršiš", DB §26. The class marker *-ma*, instead of *-ra* or *-pa*, which fit better into this context, is to be explained by the fact that the class markers were often mixed up in AE.

126 *ir*, according to Grillot (*JA* 271, 1983, note 7). König's reading *ni* seems less probable.

127 In this sentence, as well as in *EKI* 46 §15, the spatial words *pat* and *ukku* are in agreement with the grammatical object, not subject. Perhaps, the spatial word was connected with the logical, not grammatical subject of the sentence.

128 Grillot's interpretation of this construction (cf. *JA* 271, 1983, 207-208) differs from ours. She distinguishes two nominal groups of relation (groupe nominal de relation), those of inner government (régime interne) and outer government (régime externe). She refers our group II to that of inner government. According to her, we have in this group a successive attributive relation of the spatial word to the subject and of the pronoun to the spatial word. Were it so, however, we should have the word combination **lima nu-me*, instead of *lima nu*, which may hardly be a mistake, for it is attested more than once and even in the elided form *liman* (cf. EKI 76 §30). As to *-n* in the combinations *lina numu-n/apu-n*, it is a resumptive pronoun that often preceded the verb.

129 The postposition *in-tukki-me* (AE) was formed, however, according to the norms of the classical (ME) period, whereas in ME we have the simplified variant of that construction: *in tikka*. This fact once again proves that AE and ME derived from different dialects.

Examples:
meni Kammadda akka maguš Kanbuṣiia em-i duš kudda Parsin ak kudda Madabe ak kudda daiauš appa dae hupirri em-i duša dumane huttaš "then Gaumata, the Magian took away from Cambyses (lit.: Cambyses, from him) Persia, and Media, and other countries; he (Gaumata) took away from him (Cambyses) and made (it) his own", DB §12;
u . . . ap piliia appa Kammadda akka maguš em-ap dušda "and I returned them what Gaumata, the Magian, had taken away from them", *ibid.*, §14;
*GIŠ.tarmu.*lg *ukk(u)-i daqa* "grain on his account (lit.: on him) is put", PF 138:2;
GIŠ.miktam ukk(u)-ap daqa "fruit on their account (lit.: on them) is put", *ibid.*, 1897:2;
LUGAL$_2$ *murun hi ukku* "king on this earth", XPa §2 (alongside *murun hi ukku-ra-rra*, DNa §2:9);
kurmin Apzizi-ma ukku "at Apzizi's disposal (lit.: on Apzizi's hand)", PF 43:4;
. . . *ŠE.BAR.*lg *ukku daqa* " . . . instead of (lit.: on) the grain is put", *ibid.*, 462:4;
daiauš hi hati "in these countries" DB §8:19 (alongside more archaic *daiauš hi hati-ma*, §8:17).

2.2. The bond between the noun (pronoun) and the derivative (participial) pre- and postpositions, attested in NE and AE, was also paratactic:
iauna . . . akkabe d.*KAM.*lg *laqqa marrišda* "the Ionians which occupied (the area) beyond the sea", XPh 3:20;
akkari aški Kammadda maguš tubaqa inni lilmak "nobody said anything about Gaumata, the Magian", DB §13;
ruh harikip idaqa u Kammadda akka ma[*kuš ir*] *halpiia* "with a few people I killed Gaumata, the Magian", *ibid.*, §13.
Perhaps, similar to these prepositions was the word *kiqa*, attested in ME and NE in unclear contexts and interpreted by König (*EKI*, p.106, n. 10) and, later, by Hinz and Koch (*EW*, p. 480) as "back".

CHAPTER X

PARTICLES

The particles attested in Elamite are the following: *in-*, *anu*, *-ni*, *-a*, *-ta*, *-da//te*.

1. NEGATIVE PARTICLE in-

This particle was only used coupled with the class marker of the subject: *in-ki*, *in-ri*, *in-ni*, *im-me* (<**in-me*), *in-pi*.
Examples:
in-gi i n-dununku-mar "he said (*-mar*): 'I will not give it (*i*)'", EKI 74 §§38, 40, 41,42;
zalmume tebba tak kitenuh inni peranmanka "I . . . -ed the statue, placed in front, without reading (it)", EKI 76 §6;
pinikku ap-e in-ni melkah "I didn't destroy their *pinikku* ", *ibid.*, 48 §4;
sunkip urpuppa akkara im-me durnaš "none of the former kings knew", *ibid.*, 22A §11;
šanumirra inra kinnen "*šanumirra* will not approach", Omen Rev. 29;
libar inri kir "there is not a single servant", PF 1859:16;
hi siri inni titkimme "it is true, not false", DB §57.

2. PROHIBITIVE PARTICLE ani (ME), anu (NE, AE)

According to McAlpin, *anu/i* goes back to the PED negative verb **al-* "is not, does not become"[130].
This particle was used with the III conjugation verbs:
azkit tur zahria hušuia ani henki ak tumpir ani (*i*)*n-kutunki* "so that I should not have . . . and should not . . . the miscreant", EKI 45 §6;
uriš anu titkimme elmanti "believe, do not think it a lie", DB §56;
taššup iršekki halpiš anu ir-turnampi appa u inni Birtiia "he killed many people: 'may they not know that I am not Birtiia' ", DB §13.
In the 1p. pl. and 3p. sg. prohibitive forms the personal classifier was usually omitted:
Nahunte ir šara-ra ani uzzun "let him not walk under the Sun", EKI 45 §21;
u ak Nahhunteutu . . . azkit tur zahri puhu-e ani hinu (<**hi-nu-n*) "may I and Nahhunteutu not have . . . ", *ibid.*, 40 VII-VIII.
This particle is also attested with a conjugation I verb:
gim ani humašni "may he not take the *gim* ", EKI 45 §8.

130 D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 122.

3. *PRECATIVE/OPTATIVE PARTICLES -ni, -LI (OE), -na*

These particles were used with the I and II conjugation forms.
-LI, alongside *-na* is only attested in the OE period, in the texts of Hita and Simepalarhuhpak; *-ni* was used in all the other texts. The difference between -LI and-*ni* is not quite clear. Labat's assumption that in OE, like in Old Akkadian, the sign LI was read *èn* and, hence, rendered *-ni* is convincing[131]. Perhaps, the same particle [*-nə*] was denoted by the sign NA.
Examples:
hih-LI (EKI 3 VI), *hih-na* (*ibid.*, 13 VI) "may I dedicate";
rappak-na "may they be bound", *ibid.*, 3 VIII, 54 §72;
huttahšini "may they do", *ibid.*, 74 §37;
katakti-ni "may you live", DB §60.

4. *ASSERTIVE/EMPHASIZING PARTICLES -ni, -ut*

4.1.There are cases when the particle *-ni* had an assertive and not optative meaning:
halmassi . . . inni antuk-ni u kuših "*halmassi* . . . was not planned, indeed, I . . . built (it)", EKI 64 III;
ruhirra inna šarir-ni [*akkari* . . .] *akka* "not a single man existed, indeed, who . . . ", DB §13.

4.2. The particle *-ut* is only attested in AE. It was used with the locutive predicative, as well as with the 1p. pl. conjugation I and 1p. sg. conjugation II forms, evidently, to avoid confusion with those of the 1p. sg. conjugation I and 3p. sg. conjugation II:
šalut (<**šalup-ut*) "we are/were noble", *ibid.*, §36;
sunki-appini-k-it "I am/was their king", XPh 12;
sunkip-ut "we are/were kings", DB §4
huttah-ut (DB §18), *hutt*(*a*)*-utta* (XPa 16) "we made, did";
šanuk-it[132] "I was", DB §41.

5. *PARTICLE -a*

This particle is attested in all the periods of Elamite. It functioned:
a) as an adjectival formant. In this function it often alternated with the class markers or was coupled with them: *lansiti*(*i*)*-a*//*lansiti-nni*//*lansiti-m*(*e*)*-a* "golden".
b) in secondary clauses as a nominalizing/subordinating element, often coupled with the class marker of the antecedent: *tuš pitteka . . . appa sunkip uripupi imme huttahš-a . . .* "*tuš pitteka* . . . which the former kings did not make . . . ", EKI 13a II-IV;
siian . . . sunkip uripupi imme kušihši-m(*e*)*-a* "the temple, which the former kings did not build . . . ", *ibid.*, 14 II.
c) as a connective particle, added to the verb of the narrative sentence in AE. In this function it contrasted with the element *-ta* which expressed, probably, finality:

131 R. Labat, *Structure*, 36.
132 On alternation *u*//*i* cf. I.1.2.

meni haltamtip uikkimar ip Martiia hupirri . . . ir marriš-a ir halpiš "then the Elamites were afraid of me, seized that (very) Martiia and killed him", DB §23.
The variety of its meanings resulted in different opinions concerning this particle.
Hallock, basing his study on the AE data, interpreted this particle as a connective one[133].
Reiner agreed with this interpretation, pointing out its occasional use in the connective function at earlier periods, as well: *pepših-a kuših* "I laid the foundation and built (it)", EKI 4c VI. In the few cases in the RAE inscriptions when *-a* stood at the end of a paragraph, where no connective particle was implied, it was used, in her opinion, by analogy with the more frequent connective forms[134].
According to Grillot-Susini, it was a subordinative particle which, perhaps, designated nominal predicatives, whereas in ME, with weakening of the nominal structure of the language, it was added to verbal predicates of the subordinate clause as well[135].
In reply to Grillot's interpretation of *-a* as a subordinative particle Hallock expressed doubt that a subordinative particle could have developed into a connective one and supposed that it might have expressed anticipation[136].
Closest to the truth seems to be McAlpin. He doesn't completely agree with the interpretation of this clitic as a subordinative one. Taking into consideration its connective semantic in AE, he presumes that it might have denoted non-finiteness and a semantic bond at a certain level[137].
As to the subordinative function in secondary clauses and the genitive particle *-na*, it was rather expressed by class markers. Only at a later period were relative pronouns and conjunctions used.
We are probably dealing with the same element in the particle *-ta* (cf. X.6), especially as it alternated with *-ti*[138].

6. *PARTICLE -ta/i*

Various opinions exist concerning this particle, attested in all the periods of the Elamite language.
Hinz considers it a pluperfect particle[139].
According to Grillot, it expressed completeness, which could imply the past tense[140]. Later she defined it as a pluperfect marker[141]. Pointing out the fact that the forms ending in *-ta* were often used in secondary clauses, however, she ascribes the nominalizing function to the element *-a*.

133 R.T. Hallock, *JNES* 18, 1959, 5-6, 11-12.

134 E. Reiner, *EL*, 80-81.

135 F.Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 25, 40; F. Grillot, *JA* 258, 1970, 213-236; *idem*, *DAFI*, 1973, 115-169.

136 R.T. Hallock, *JNES* 32, 1973, 150-151.

137 D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 80.

138 Another viewpoint concerning the clitic *-a* was expressed by Hinz (*ArOr*, 18/1-2,1950, 282-285). According to him, *-a* and *-i* were correlated particles and the former denoted the perfective aspect in contrast with the latter. However, the examples given in confirmation of this hypothesis do not seem convincing.

139 W. Hinz, *ArOr* 18/1-2, 1950, 284.

140 F. Grillot, *JA* 258, 1970, 217.

141 F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 33.

As in RAE it is mostly attested in secondary clauses[142], Paper considers *-ta* to be a nominalizing particle, without, however, analyzing it[143].
This interpretation is close to Labat's viewpoint, according to which *-t-* was a class marker (cf. II.1.1), whereas *-a* the subordinative particle nominalizing the verb of the secondary clause[144].
According to Hallock, who objected to Paper's interpretation, *-ta* was added to the verb standing at the end of the sentence (or paragraph) and expressed finality in contrast with the connective particle *-a*[145].
According to McAlpin, though the meaning of *-ta* was not quite clear it, evidently, expressed completeness[146].
The following examples will, probably, help to understand the meaning of this clitic:

I. *tuš pitteka appa sunkip uripupi imme huttahša agi menpu imme kušihša u kuših* "I built *tuš pitteka*, which the former kings had not made and *menpu*, (which) they had not built", EKI 13a II-IV (*-ta* is absent).
II. *siian Upurkubakme sunkip uripupi Šušun imme kušihši-ma u alumelu kuših* "I built in the acropolis the temple of Upurkubak which the former kings had not built in Susa", *ibid.*, 14 II (*-ma* instead of *-ta*).
III. *sunkip urpuppu siian [Inšušinak ak Lakamar-me] akka kukšiš -ta imme durnah* "I did not (or: do not?) know the former kings which had built the temple of Inšušinak and Lakamar", *ibid.*, 34 II.
IV. *siian Kiririša zana Liian lahakrame Hubannumena kušišda miširmana sarrih pepširmah ak erentimma kuših* "the temple of Kiririša, the Lady of Liian of the dead, which Hubannumena had built, being dilapidated, I demolished (it), laid the foundation and built of fired bricks", *ibid.*, 57 II-III.
V. *hiš ape [erentim tallu]hši-ta-ma*[147] *aha nimanki*[148] "I shall get to be here their name, which they had written on bricks", *ibid.*, 42 VI.
VI. *siian [Man]zatme sunkip urpuppa kušihši-ta ak miširmak ak erentim-e tutuššik* "the temple of Manzat which the former kings had built, was/became dilapidated and its bricks were . . . ", *ibid.*, 42 I-II.
VII. *ak u siian nappanna hudda appa Kammadda akka makuš šarišda* "and I restored (lit.: made) the temple of the gods which Gaumata, the Magian, had demolished", DB §14.
VIII. *taššup iršekki halpiš akkabe šašša Pirtiia ir turnašti* "he killed many people who had known Pirtiia before", DB §13.
IX. *nappa ir marrišta-ra* "(which) the gods had taken", Arg. 1, 9'.
X. *tamšan Napiršara huttaš-ta* "he made libation to Napiršara", PF 354:5/6.

142 Cf., however, *innakki habadana Dariiamaus . . . uddašta* "Darius built this *habadana*" (A^2 Sa 3), with a final form in *-ta* corresponding to "he built" in the OP and Babylonian versions.

143 H.H. Paper, *PMRAE*, 49.

144 R. Labat, *Structure*, 38.

145 R.T. Hallock, *JNES* 18, 1959, 6-7.

146 D.W. McAlpin, *PEDEI*, 71.

147 It isn't clear whether *-ma* in this form denoted nominalization (cf. *kušihši-ma,* example II), or was the locative marker ("on bricks"). It should be noted, however, that the locative marker in ME was not so widespread as in AE, cf. *Šušun* "in Susa" in the same example.

148 Conjugation III causative form of the verb *nima-* "to be".

XI. *battikamaš* PN *lišda* "PN gave a message", PF 364:7.

XII. *innakki habadana Dariiamauš. . . uddašta* "Darius built . . . this *habadana*", A^2 Sa 3.

From the sentences cited above it follows that:

a) the particle *-ta/i* was used in secondary clauses in verbs with pluperfect meaning (III, IV, VI-VIII);
b) in some cases in similar sentences *-ta/i* was omitted and other clitics (*-a, -ma*) were used instead (I, II);
c) in RAE *-ta* was mostly used in secondary clauses (VII, VIII);
d) it was also used in the principal clause at the end of the sentence in the Persepolis tablets (X, XI) and occasionally in RAE (XII);
e) it was used with the verb of the secondary clause coupled with nominalizing particles (V, IX).

It is evident that the viewpoint of Hinz and Grillot is based on the cases of type a), that of Labat and Paper on types b) and c), whereas the opinion of Hallock and McAlpin is based on the cases of type d).

From the viewpoint of the structure of Elamite and on the basis of cases b) and c) the particle *-t(a/i)* may, in fact, be analyzed as a nominalizing clitic. On the other hand, the use of the particle *-ra* in AE in relative clauses with the 1p. first conjugation verbs[149] and its absence in the 3p. forms makes us doubt the identity of the function of the particles *-ta* and *-ra* in relative clauses, especially as in AE the sphere of the use of *-r* increases at the expense of other class markers, and not vice versa, and *-ta* is also attested in principal clauses (cf. examples X, XI) or coupled with the nominalizing particles (cf. examples V, IX).

Possibly, as most of the sentences where it was used implied pluperfect meaning and, on the other hand, the class marker *-t* had been obsolete since the ME period, the clitic *-ta/i* in due course was taken for a completive/pluperfect marker, whereas its nominalizing function became secondary or was even effaced (cf. examples IX, X, XI, XII).

7. *PARTICLE -da//-te*

The meaning of this particle attested in NE and AE, is not clear. It was generally used with adverbs and pronouns and is once attested with a numeral: *am(-da)*, *appuka(-da)*, *šašša(-da)*, *marbeb(-da)*, *hupe(-da)*, *daki(-da)*, *2-da*[150].

In some cases this clitic has probably a generalizing meaning and corresponds to the OP enclitic *-ciy*[151]. Hinz ascribes it the meaning "also" and traces it back to *tak* (lit.: "is placed")[152]. According to Grillot, it originates from the ancient class marker *-t*[153].

149 Unlike Reiner (*BSLP* 55/1,1960, 226), we interpret the form in *-ra*, used in AE in relative clauses with the 1 p. sg. subject, as a combination of the clitic *-ra* (<delocutive animate classifier *-r* + *-a*) with the conjugation I 1p. sg. verb.

150 *PAP 2-da ap iddu* "to two (persons) in all issue (it)", PF 1854:7.

151 Cf. H.H. Paper, *PMRAE*, 85.

152 W. Hinz, H. Koch, *EW*, 245.

153 F. Grillot, *JA* 266, 1978, 5, n. 5.

CHAPTER XI

CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

1. *COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS ak, kudda*

1.1. *ak* (graph. *a-ak*, *ia-ak*), attested since the ME period, was used

a) to connect homogeneous parts of the sentence:
d.*GAL ak Inšušinak Siianku̯kpa dunih*;

b) in complex sentences after the inserted secondary clause:
. . . u takmeume tur hih šullumenga azkit zahri hušuia ingi henga intikka ak i (graph. *a-gi*) *siian . . . kuših* "in order to . . . my life, my well-being(?), (in order) not to have . . . , I built this temple", *ibid.*, 11C II-IV;

c) in AE to introduce a new sentence or paragraph:
ak Dariiamauš sunkir nanri "says Darius the king", DB, passim;

d) in disjunctive meaning:
sunkir pitir ak tarir akka melkanra "the king, either an enemy or a friend, who destroys . . . ," EKI 9 IIIb VII-VIII;

e) in enumerations in negative sentences in the meaning "neither . . . nor":
ruhirra inna šarirni [*akkari inni*] *parsirra inni mada ak inni par nukami . . .* "there was nobody, indeed, neither a Persian, nor a Median, nor (anyone) from our family", DB §13.

1.2. *kudda*, attested in AE, was used

a) to coordinate two sentences:
meni taššup harikkaš kudda titkime daiauš hatima iršekki "then the people revolted/were treacherous and the lie was plentiful in the country", DB §10;

b) in enumerations, often coupled with *ak*:
u Uramazda un nušgišni nappibe idaka kudda appa huddara kudda appa addada Dariiamauš sunkir huttašda "may Ahuramazda together with (other) gods protect me and what I did, and what my father Darius did . . . ", XPca (cb) §3;
titkime daiauš hatima iršekki[*. . . kudda*] *parsinikki kudda madabekki ak kudda daiauš appa dae hatima* "lie was plentiful in the country . . . (and) in Persia, and in Media, and in other countries", DB §10.

2. *SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS*

AE knew a number of adverbial conjunctions including the lexemes *sap* "as; when; after; so that; until" and *anka* "if", whereas in ME only one sentence with *anka* is attested: *anka šarak elmanda* "if now you think", DNa §4;

hupibena hi nubbak inni huddak sap u bel ki-ma . . . hudda "they (the former kings) had not done as much as I did in one year", DB §59;
sap Kammadda akka maguš u halpiia meni Haššina hiše Hatamturra . . . Hatamtup-ikki imaka "after I killed Gaumata the Magian, (then) an Elamite, named Aššina, revolted in Elam", *ibid.*, §16;
sap [*ibba*]*kra ištukra inni kazamak* "so that the weak shouldn't be hurt by the strong", DSe §4;
sap appa u sunkir huttukut "after I became (lit.: I was made) king", XSe §4;
hi appa [*uikkimar*] *huddak sap appa anka appuka sunkime marriia* "that is what I did (lit.: was done by me) after I became king (lit.: I took the kingship)", DB §15;
sunkir Hatamtir anka rurina ak miširmana kurru kuduni[154] "may the king of Elam, if it (the temple) falls into decay and is ruined, restore(?) it", EKI 9 IIIb XI.

INTERJECTIONS

The only interjection attested in Elamite is *e* "oh, o":
e d.*GAL Kiririša Insušnak num u tenti* "oh, Napiriša, Kiririša (and) Insušnak, you are (or: be) gracious to me", EKI 47 §31.

154 The translation is conjectural. The form *kuduni* is not quite clear, though it may be optative (**kuduš-ni*?).

CHAPTER XII

SYNTAX

1. *WORD ORDER*

1.1. The word order peculiar to Elamite was:
S (subject) - O^2 (indirect object) -O^1 (direct object)-V (verb):
u . . . Inšušinak in dunih "I gave it to Inšušinak", EKI 5a I-II.
The attribute followed the determined word:
u d.*Siḫašum Siḫankuk-ra in dunih* "I . . . gave it to Siḫašum of Siḫankuk", EKI 8A I-III.
The adverbial modifier usually preceded the verb:
u . . . siḫan Upurkubakme . . . alumelu kuših hiše aha tah "I built in acropolis the temple of Upurkubak (and) put there his name", EKI 14 I-III.

1.2. In AE the word order was less rigid:
u hi šimme ak siri maššš "I cut off his (lit.: him) nose and ears", DB §§33, 65, but:
Uramazda pikti u daš "Ahuramazda sent me help", DB, passim (the indirect object follows the direct object);
meni sunkime hupirri Hatamtipna huttaš "then he reigned over Elam", *ibid.*, §16, 59 (the subject is wedged in between the attribute and its determined word).

2. *PREDICATIVE CONSTRUCTION*

The predicative was related to the subject by the class marker of the subject:
nuku sunki-p-ut "we are kings", DB §4.

3. *ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTION*

3.1. The attributive construction, as well as the apposition, were formed by means of the class markers of the determined word attached to the attribute and the apposition:
u Untaš-Napiriša šak Humpannummena-ki sunki-k Anzan Šušunka siḫan Napratepme . . . kuših "I, Untaš-Napiriša, Humpannummena's son, the king of Anzan (and) Susa, built the temple of (the gods) Naprate", EKI 7IId I-II.

3.2. In NE and especially in AE possession was also expressed by means of a special construction, in which the attribute preceded the determined word and the latter was followed by the possessive pronoun, corresponding to the person of the attribute:
u adda-da "my father (lit.: I, my father)", DB §35;
Mišdašba att(a)-eri "Mišdašba's father (lit.: Mišdašba, his father)", *ibid.*, §2.

3.3. Besides that, the attribute and the apposition in AE were often linked to the determined word by means of the relative pronoun *appa*, this construction being a calque from OP:
Kammadda appa makuš "Gaumata, the Magian", DB, passim;
daiiauš appa dae "other countries", *ibid.*, §14;
taššup appa Nutitbel-na "the troops of Nidintu-Bêl", *ibid.*, §§19, 76.

4. *SENTENCE CONSTRUCTIONS*

The sentence constructions in Elamite were the following:
a) ergative/active, with a transitive verb in conjugation I:
Hubannumena siian Kiririša Liianirrame . . . kušiš "Hubannumena built the temple of Kiririša of Liian", EKI 59 II;
b) absolutive, with the verb in the II (intransitive) and III (neutral) conjugations (both participial), as well as with a nominal predicate:
betip pirru ir-šarabba Maumišša ir-ma šinnup "the rebels gathered and set out against Maumišša, DB §29;
c) passive, with the verb in the II conjugation:
siian Inšušinakme upatimma kušik "the temple of Inšušinak was built of fired bricks", EKI 35 II.
The construction a) was actually correlated with the construction b) in the opposition ergative : absolutive and with the construction c) in the opposition active : passive.
In AE which was greatly influenced by OP, the subject of the passive construction stood either in the "genitive" or "ablative-instrumental". The former was used when the Elamite sentence reflected the OP quasi-ergative construction, whereas the latter, when the Elamite sentence rendered the OP passive construction:
appa unina huddak = OP quasi-ergative *tia manā kartam* "what I did", DB §58;
uikkimar ap tirikka = OP passive *hačāma aθahia* "it was said by me", *ibid.*, §8.

5. *SENTENCES WITH MULTIPLE PREDICATES RELATED TO THE SAME SUBJECT*

5.1. The predicates (verbs) related to the same subject sometimes stood in the same form and were connected by means of the conjunction *ak* or asyndetically. In such cases we deal with homogeneous predicates:
u . . . siian Napiriša kuših ak Napiriša Siiankukra dunih "I . . . built the temple of Napiriša and gave it to Napiriša of Siiankuk", EKI 9 Ia I . . . III-IV;
kumpum kiduia . . . sarih ak erentumma kuših ak Inšušnak napiruri i sima tah "I demolished *kumpum kiduia* . . . and built (it) of fired bricks and put (it) in front of my god Inšušnak", *ibid.*, 32 III-V;
u Šilhak-Insušnak upat aktippa huhta hišume aha talluh "I, Šilhak-Insušnak adorned (it) with glazed bricks (and) wrote there my name", *ibid.*, 40III (asyndetic bond).
Sometimes in sentences with homogeneous predicates or other parts of sentence only the last one was inflected: *siian Inšušinakni . . . miširmana u . . . pepši huttah*[155] "the temple of Inšušinak being in ruins, I . . . renovated (and) made (it)", EKI 38 II-IV;

155 After F. Grillot-Susini (*EGE*, 42). According to Hallock, we deal here with the form *pepši* "repairs" ("I made repairs"). This verb is also translated "to lay foundation", cf. W. Hinz, H. Koch, *EW*, 180.

huttak halik-ume "what I made (and) adorned/created", *ibid.*, passim.

5.2. In some cases one of the predicates was in the I (perfective), while the other (or others) in the III (imperfective) conjugation.
In subordinate (conditional) clauses of the "who(ever) does" type the former, evidently, expressed an action previous to that expressed by the latter[156] and might be rendered in English by an adverbial perfect participle:
akka . . . daha humaš ak sukunra "who(ever) . . . having taken what I had put, erases it", EKI 45 §§16 . . . 18.
In the principal clause the conjugation III verb denoted an action simultaneous with that expressed by the I conjugation verb. It may be rendered in English by an adverbial present participle:
ṣalmume . . . kitenuh inni peranmanka "I consecrated(?) my statue . . . without reading . . . ", EKI 76 §§5-6.

6. *SECONDARY CLAUSES*

6.1. The subordinate clause preceded the principal clause:
akka ṣalmumume humanra akka hutunra akka tuppime melkanra akka hišume sukunra hat d.*GAL* d.*Kiririša* d.*Insušnak r(i) ukku-r i r-takni* "who(ever) takes my sculpture, who(ever) breaks (it), who(ever) damages the inscription, who(ever) erases my name, let the wrath of Napiriša, Kiririša (and) Insušnak fall upon him", EKI 16 III-IV.

6.2. The inserted subordinate clause stood after the subject of the principal clause:
u Šutruk-Nahhunte Inšušinak napiruri u r-tahhanra suh[*mutu i . . .*] *Aḫiahitek* [*humah*] *ak Šušun tengih* "as my god Inšušinak ordered to me, I, Šutruk-Nahhunte, took from statue . . . in Aḫiahitek and sent it to Susa", *ibid.*, 28A §1-2;
u Šutruk-Nahhunte sunkimena humanka Inšušnak napiruri u r-tahhanra kukunnum pittena sari pahah Karintaš humah "when I, Šutruk-Nahhunte, took the reign[157], as Inšušnak , my god, ordered me to enclose the *kukunnum*, I . . . (and) took (it) to Karintaš", *ibid.*, 72 II-IV.
In ME the principal and the secondary clauses were bound asyndetically. The only conjunction, attested in a rather unclear context, is *anka.*
AE, on the contrary, was rich in adverbial conjunctions (cf. XI.2).
The relative words *akka* and *appa* were used both in ME and to a greater degree in AE.

6.3.*Relative clauses*[158]

6.3.1.The most common way to form relative (attributive) clauses was the same as with the attributive constructions, that is, by means of classifiers, added to the verb of the subordinate clause:

156 Cf. F. Grillot-Susini, *EGE*, 42.

157 The use of *-na* is not quite clear, perhaps we deal here with genetivus objectivus ("after receiving/reception of the kingship?").

158 For a detailed analysis of relative clauses see F. Grillot, *JA* 258, f. 3-4, 1970, 213-236.

[*e* d.*GAL*] *kuk kassit-ri e I[nsušnak rišar na]ppipir e baha kazzah-pi* "o Napiriša, (you) who forged the vault of the heaven, o Insušnak, the greatest of the gods, o baha, whom I forged", EKI 54 §1;
manip sahi . . . hu[t]ta[kna] . . . [l]ahakna . . . petip luk limmašpi tar[i]p šali sirašbi limak . . patpup rappakna[159] "may bronze *mani* be made . . . may they die/be killed . . . may the enemies whom the fire burned, (their) allies who were hung on pillars[160], be burned . . . bound up at (lit.: under) my feet", *ibid.*, 3 VII-VIII;
u Šilhak-Insušnak šak Šutruk-Nahhunte-k . . . likame (=*likame*+-*e*) *Insušnak ir haniš-ri*[161] "I, Šilhak-Insušnak, Šutruk-Nahhunte's son . . . , whose kingship Insušnak loves (lit.: his kingship, which Insušnak loves)", EKI 54 §2.
The class marker nominalizing the relative clause was, as a rule, followed by the particle -*a*: *sunkip uripupi siḫan* d.*GAL imme kušihši-ma . . . u kuših* "I built the temple of Napiriša, which the former kings had not built", EKI 13a IV.

6.3.2. Relative clauses were also formed by means of relative pronouns alongside the particles, nominalizing their verbs:
hal appa kušiha luppuruhni "may I . . . the *hal*, which I built", EKI 13 A VIII;
[*ki*]*zum mušiḫa appa sunkip uripupi umme* (graph. var.: *imme*) *huhtahša u huhtah halih* "I put up and adorned the *kizum mušiḫa* which the former kings had not put up", *ibid.*, 12 H+J+K+L II-III;
suhmuti i . . . sunkir akka dašda imme durnah "I did /do not know the king which put up this stele", *ibid.*, 20 II.

In AE the use of the relative pronouns was mandatory. At that period the verb of the relative clause was, as a rule, followed by the particle -*ti/a* (cf. X.6) in the 3p. and by -*ra* (<delocutive animate -*ri*+-*a*) in the 1p. (*hutta-ra*). This form should be interpreted as **huttah* (conj. I 1p. sg.)+-*ra*. The use of the delocutive class marker independently of the class of the antecedent may be explained by the fact that in AE -*r* had almost completely ousted all the classifiers, except the delocutive plural -*p*.
E. Reiner's interpretation of this form is quite different. According to her, the construction *appa u huttara* "what I did" is a calque from OP *tiya manā kartam* (lit. "which my done") and *u huttara* may be compared with *u atta-ta* "my father" and *u libar-uri* "my servant"[162].
It should, however, be noted that in AE in attributive constructions the personal pronoun standing before the determined word corresponded in person to the possessive pronoun following it. Hence, in the case of a calque from OP we should have had **u hutta-uri*, instead of *u huttara*. Moreover, as was shown by Reiner (*ibid.*), AE knew another construction that was a calque from the aforementioned OP quasi-ergative construction: *unina huttak*.
Grillot's interpretation of *huttara*, too, differs from ours. She considers this form a non-aspectual (neutral) participle (I conj. participle, after Hallock) +-a. However, the fact, that in relative clauses, besides *huddara* the form without -*ra* is attested (*hi appa u hudda* "that is

159 Var.: [*p*]*etippe luk limm*[*ašpina tarip*] *šali sirašpina limm*[*akna*] . . . , EKI 54 §72.

160 Or, rather, "hang", *sirašpi* being intransitive, but not passive, cf. *tiri*- (VII.8.3).

161 The use of the resumptive pronoun *ir* and the nominalizer -*ri* referring to *likame* may be explained by the fact that this substantive was considered active; -*me* in this substantive was a derivational suffix, not a classifier.

162 E. Reiner, *BSLP*, 55/1, 1960, 226.

what I did", DB §§52, 62; *appi 9 sunkip appa u bet hatima maṷriṷa* "these are the 9 kings whom I seized in one battle", DB §53), once again proves that we deal with a conjugation I verb nominalized by adding *-ra*, and not a participle, otherwise the form without the classifier would be impossible.

6.4. *Adverbial clauses*

The verb in adverbial clauses stood in the III conjugation and was followed by the particle *-a*. As already mentioned, there were no special adverbial conjunctions in ME (cf. XI.2). They only came into use in AE:
siṷan Inšušinakme miširmana u . . . kuših "as the temple of Inšušinak was dilapidated, I . . . built it", EKI 35 II-III;
Inšušinak . . . u r-tahhanra humah . . . tengih "as Inšušinak helped me . . . I took (the stele) . . . (and) sent (it) off", *ibid.*, 20 III-IV;
nu u n-tahhanta . . . "in order/so that you help(?) me . . . ", *ibid.*, 28 A §21;
akka salmumume humanra akka hutunra akka tuppime melkanra akka hišume sukunra . . . "(if) anyone takes my statue, breaks (it), (if) anyone damages the inscription, (if) anyone erases my name . . . ", EKI 16 III;
anka tuppi . . . danda "when you sent the tablet", PFa 28:12.

7. *DIRECT SPEECH*

Direct speech in Elamite was introduced by verba dicendi *tiri-* and *na-* and closed by the clitics *-manka*, if the introductory verb was in the 1p., *-mara* (<**-manra*?) and *-map(a)*, if the introductory verb was in the 3p. sg. or. pl. respectively, and *-maqa* in impersonal sentences[163].
hi ṣila ap tiriṷa miteš taššup appa betip unina inni tirimanpi hupibe halpiš-manka "thus I spoke to them: 'go (and) beat the troops that are hostile (and) do not call (themselves) mine'", DB §33;
hi ṣila ap tiriš nanri u Ummanuš sunki Hatamtipna-mara "thus he spoke to them, saying: 'I am Ummanuš, the king of Elam '", *ibid.*, §22;
8 *ME* 28 [*KUŠ*.lg] *appa inni dušda mušnuk-maqa* "828 hides which he did not take, are spoiled, it is said", Fort. 3300:13.
In AE we have a case with the direct speech introduced by the 2p. verb *elmanda* "you will think" and closed by *nanda* (verbum dicendi *na-* in the III conj. 2p. form), instead of the clitic **-manda* which might be expected by analogy with *-manka* and *-mara*:
anka šarak elmanda appa hamak daṷauš hube appa Dariṷamauš sunkir marrišda nanda "if also you think: 'how many are the countries which Darius the king conquered?'", DNa §4.

163 The element *-ma-* was related to the suffix *-ma-* (cf. VII. 2.1). According to McAlpin (*PEDEI*, 122), it went back to the PED verb **man-* "to become", which was widely used in Central and North Dravidian, whereas in South Dravidian another verb - *āku* "to become" - was current. It is to be noted, that in Tamiḷ *āvatu* (the neuter appellative of *aku*) was used in the same function as *-ma-* in Elamite.

Verbum dicendi sometimes stood after the direct speech, instead of introducing it:
akka ṣalmu Šutruk-Nahhuntena ingi i n-dununku-mar ak turunra "who(ever) says: 'I shall not give the statue of Šutruk-Nahhunte . . . '", EKI, 74 §40.
The introductory word was sometimes omitted:
Kutir-Nahhunte . . . siḫan Inšušinakme ahan kušinkimar ak imme kušiš "Kutir-Nahhunte . . . (said): I will build here the temple of Inšušinak, but he did not", EKI 43 II-III.

APPENDIX

THE TYPOLOGY OF ELAMITE

There exist different opinions concerning the contensive type of the Elamite language. G.G. Cameron, adhering to the concept of passivity of the ergative construction, considered the Elamite verb to be passive[164].

G. Steiner ranks Elamite among languages with intransitive-passival construction, too[165]. I.M. Diakonoff, starting from the opposition of active predicate to stative, qualifies Elamite as an ergative[166] (according to him, the languages characterized by the opposition action : state, that is, active languages after G.A. Klimov, belong to the ergative type). It should be noted, however, that the opposition action : state is not attested in Elamite.

A. Kammenhuber, proceeding from the formal opposition of the active transitive verb to the nominal verb and the coincidence of the object marker of the transitive verb with the subject marker of the intransitive one, places Elamite among ergative languages[167].

Based on the examples which demonstrate the opposition of the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs to the object of transitive verbs and thus contradict the thesis of A. Kammenhuber, G. Wilhelm comes to the conclusion, that Elamite was not an ergative language[168]. He does, however, not touch upon the contrast between different groups of verbs in Elamite.

Evidently, in the works mentioned above, only separate fragments of the Elamite grammar are considered, whereas the content-oriented typology, treating languages in terms of rendering the subject-object relationships of reality, is a whole-system typology and each language type is characterized by specific principles of organization of its lexical, syntactical and morphological levels. That is why for an adequate typological attribution of a language facts on its different levels should be taken into account.

G.A Klimov, dwelling upon a number of features typical of active languages (such as binary classification of substantives, distinction of organic and inorganic forms of possession, existence of two pronominal lexemes of the first person plural, opposition of the conjugation of *verba dicendi, movendi* and *actionis* to the conjugation of the rest of the verbs), degrading in NE, as well as several features peculiar to languages of nominative typology (formation of the genitive case of the nominative construction of the sentence), comes to the conclusion that Elamite had developed from the active to the nominative

164 G.G. Cameron, *PTT*, 18.

165 G. Steiner, The Intransitive-passival Conception of the Verb in Language of the Ancient Near East, in F. Plank (ed.), *Ergativity. Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations*, London, 1979, 181-215.

166 I.M. Diakonoff, *Elamskij*, 1967, 29; *idem*, *AMI* 14, 1981, 7-8.

167 A. Kammenhuber, *AcAn* 22, 1974, 204.

168 G. Wilhelm, *AMI* 11, 1978, 7-12; *idem*, *AMI* 15, 1982, 7-8.

type[169]. But Klimov's analysis is not complete, for he takes into consideration neither the verbal morphology nor the syntactical constructions of Elamite. Moreover, the opposition action : state is not attested in Elamite and the existence of the pronoun *ela/u* is not confirmed by the texts. The following is a further attempt to define the typological type of Elamite[170].
In Elamite the following features, relevant to its typological characteristics, are to be noted.

1. *VOCABULARY*

1.1. The substantives were divided into the classes of animate and inanimate, which is typical of active languages.

1.2. The verbs were divided into transitives and intransitives, which is characteristic of nominative languages. Among other features peculiar to the vocabulary of nominative languages the presence of a number of verbs expressing subject-object relationships (*li-, dunu-* "to give"; *huma-* "to receive, to take") and of verbs of being, often used as a copula (*nima, šari*) is to be mentioned (cf. VII.6). *Verbum habendi*, typical of developed nominative languages did not exist in Elamite.

2. *SYNTAX*

2.1. On the syntactical level the correlation between the ergative and absolutive models of the sentence, characteristic of ergative languages, is revealed (cf. XIII.4).
On the other hand, we have the correlation of the active and passive constructions, peculiar to nominative languages (cf. XIII.4).

2.2. The word-order S-O_2-O_1-V is typical of ergative languages, though it is not alien to nominative languages, either.

3. *MORPHOLOGY*

3.1. *Substantives*
3.1.1. The Elamite substantive was characterized by the categories of gender (animate: inanimate) and number. The opposition singular : plural was only known to the animates, which is typical of active languages.

169 G.A. Klimov, *The Typology of Languages of the Active System*, Moscow, 1977, 247-249 [in Russian].

170 We follow G.A. Klimov's concept of contensive typology, according to which the structure of active languages is motivated by the semantical opposition of active : inactive principles, that of ergative languages by the opposition of agentive (that is, source or condition of action) : factitive (bearer of action), whereas the structure of nominative languages is based on the opposition subject : object, cf. Klimov's works: *An Essay of the General Theory of Ergativity*, Moscow, 1973; *The Typology of Languages of the Active System*, Moscow, 1977; *The Principles of the Contensive Typology*, Moscow, 1983 [in Russian].

3.1.2. Though the category of declension was not known in Elamite, the clitic *-na*, going back to the neutral gender-marker *-ni* coupled with the relative particle *-a* (cf. III.2.2), acquires the function of a genitive case marker. No cases of *genetivus objectivus* or *genetivus subjectivus*, characteristic of a developed genitive, are attested. There is, however, a dubious case that might be interpreted as *genitivus objectivus*: *u Šutruk-Nahhunte sunkimena humanka* ... "When I, Šutruk-Nahhunte, took the reign (or: after the taking of the reign?", *EKI*, 72 I-II.

3.2. *Pronouns*

3.2.1. Unlike the substantives, the personal pronouns in Elamite had special accusative forms, formed by means of the elements *-r* and *-n* : *u* "I" - *u-n* "me", *nuku* "we" - *nuku-n* "us" etc. (cf. VI.1.2).

3.2.2. Elamite had two sets of possessive pronouns. The formation of one of them (by means of class markers) is similar to that of attributes (cf. VI.3.1), whereas the pronouns of the other set have special forms (cf. VI.3.2) and, most probably, reflect inalienable/organic possession, a category peculiar to active languages, especially as these pronouns were mostly used with such substantives as "father" (*atta*), "seed, family" (*par*), "name" (*hiš*), which had special forms of organic possession in languages of the active type.

3.2.3. Elamite had a reflexive pronoun (cf. VI.6), which is characteristic of nominative languages.

3.3. *Adjectives*

A developed class of adjectives, peculiar to nominative languages, was not known to Elamite (cf. IV.1).

3.4. *Verb*

3.4.1. The Elamite verb did not have a developed temporal system, characteristic of nominative languages: the past tense, or, rather, the perfective aspect, was opposed to the non-past tense, or imperfective aspect (cf. VII.1.1).

3.4.2. The verbs of the past tense were opposed according to transitivity : intransitivity, whereas in the non-past tense this opposition was neutralized (cf. VII.1.1).

3.4.3. There was a voice diathesis in Elamite: the detransitivized verb was formed on the base of the passive participle (cf. VII.9.b).

3.4.4. The intransitive verb was preceded by the pronominal elements *-n* or *-r*, the same as those making part of the resumptive object pronouns used with the transitive verb (cf. VI.2.3, VII.1.5). This means that in the past tense the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive one were treated similarly, which is not peculiar to developed nominative languages, but is typical of languages of a transitional stage from the ergative to the nominative type. The nominativizing tendency in prenominative types results in a gradual neutralization of the opposition active : inactive or ergative : absolutive, and it is in the past tense (perfective), that this opposition is preserved the longest.

The aforesaid leads us to the conclusion that Elamite was an early nominative language with some traces of the active and ergative types.

The features enabling us to qualify Elamite as a nominative language are the following: division of verbs into transitives and intransitives, presence of a copula, of verbs expressing subject-object relationships, of reflexive pronouns, correlation of active and passive models of the sentence, formation of the accusative case in the system of personal pronouns, a unified (nominative) conjugation of verbs in the non-past tense and a voice diathesis.

The absence of a *verbum habendi*, of a completely formed class of adjectives, the correlation of the ergative and absolutive constructions of the sentence and of ergative and absolutive (transitive : intransitive) conjugations in the past tense (perfective), the S-O-V word-order, typical of non-nominative languages, a weakly developed genitive and the absence of a developed class of adjectives show that Elamite was an early nominative language and had retained some features typical of ergative languages.

Such features as the binary opposition of substantives, the absence of the contrast singular : plural in inanimate substantives and the traces of a correlation between alienable and inalienable possession are to be considered as relics of the active typology.

The features typical of the nominative type are mostly developed in AE, which was greatly influenced by the nominative Old Persian language, but this influence should not be overestimated, for the nominativizing tendency in Elamite is also revealed at earlier stages of the language, free from Old Persian influence.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AcAn	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae
AE	Achaemenid Elamite
Akk.	Akkadian
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Berlin
Arg.	The Elamite tablet from Armavir (Argištihinele) published in *ZA* 80/I, 1990, pp.102-123
ArOr	Archiv Orientalní
A^2Sa	Artaxerxes II, Susa, inscription a, cited by KA
A^3P	Artaxerxes III, Persepolis, inscription cited by EW*
Bab.	Babylonian
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BSLP	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
DAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran, Paris
DB	Darius, Bisutun, cited by KA
Diakonoff, *Elamskij*	Elamskij jazyk, in: Jazyki Drevnej Perednej Azii, Moskva, 1967, pp. 85-112
DNa	Darius, Naqš-e Rostam, inscription a, cited by KA
DNc	Darius, Naqš-e Rostam, inscription c, cited by KA
DPf	Darius, Persepolis, inscription f, cited by KA
DPh	Darius, Persepolis, inscription h, cited by EW
DSab	Darius, Susa, inscription ab, cited by EW
DSe	Darius, Susa, inscription e, cited by EW
DSf	Darius, Susa, inscription f, cited by EW
DSj	Darius, Susa, inscription j, cited by EW
DSz	Darius, Susa, inscription z, cited by EW
EGE	F. Grillot-Susini avec la collaboration de Claude Roche, Éléments de grammaire élamite, Paris, 1987
EKI	F.W. König, Die Elamischen Königsinschriften, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 16, Graz, 1965
EL	E. Reiner, The Elamite Language, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Zweiter Band, Erster und Zweiter Abschnitt, Lieferung 2, Leiden/Köln, 1969, pp. 54-118
EW	W. Hinz und H. Koch, Elamisches Wörterbuch (in 2 Teilen), Berlin, 1987
Fort.	Conventional sign of the unpublished fortification tablets from Persepolis
Inc. SeA	The Neo-Elamite Letter from Susa, cited by EW

* The passages from the texts not available to me are cited by EW.

JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
KA	F.H.Weißbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, Leipzig, 1911
Labat, *Structure*	R. Labat, Structure de la langue élamite (État présent de la question), Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris IX, années 1950-1951, Paris 1951
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
ME	Middle Elamite
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NE	Neo Elamite
OE	Old Elamite
OIP	The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications
Omen	Omen text from Susa, cited by Scheil, RA 14, 1917
OP	Old Persian
PED	Proto-Elamo-Dravidian
PEDEI	D.W. McAlpin, Proto-Elamo-Dravidian: Evidence and its Implications, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 71, part 3, Philadelphia, 1981
PF	Conventional sign of the fortification tablets from Persepolis, published in PFT
PFa	Conventional sign of the fortification tablets from Persepolis, published by Hallock in DAFI
PFT	R.T. Hallock, Persepolis Fortification Tablets, OIP 92, Chicago, 1969
PMRAE	H.H. Paper, The Phonology and Morphology of Royal Achaemenid Elamite, Ann Arbor, 1955
PT	Conventional sign of the Persepolis treasury tablets, published in PTT
PTT	G.G. Cameron, Persepolis Treasury Tablets, OIP 65, Chicago, 1948
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
Word	Journal of Linguistic Circle of New York
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie



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